

# The DC Gazette

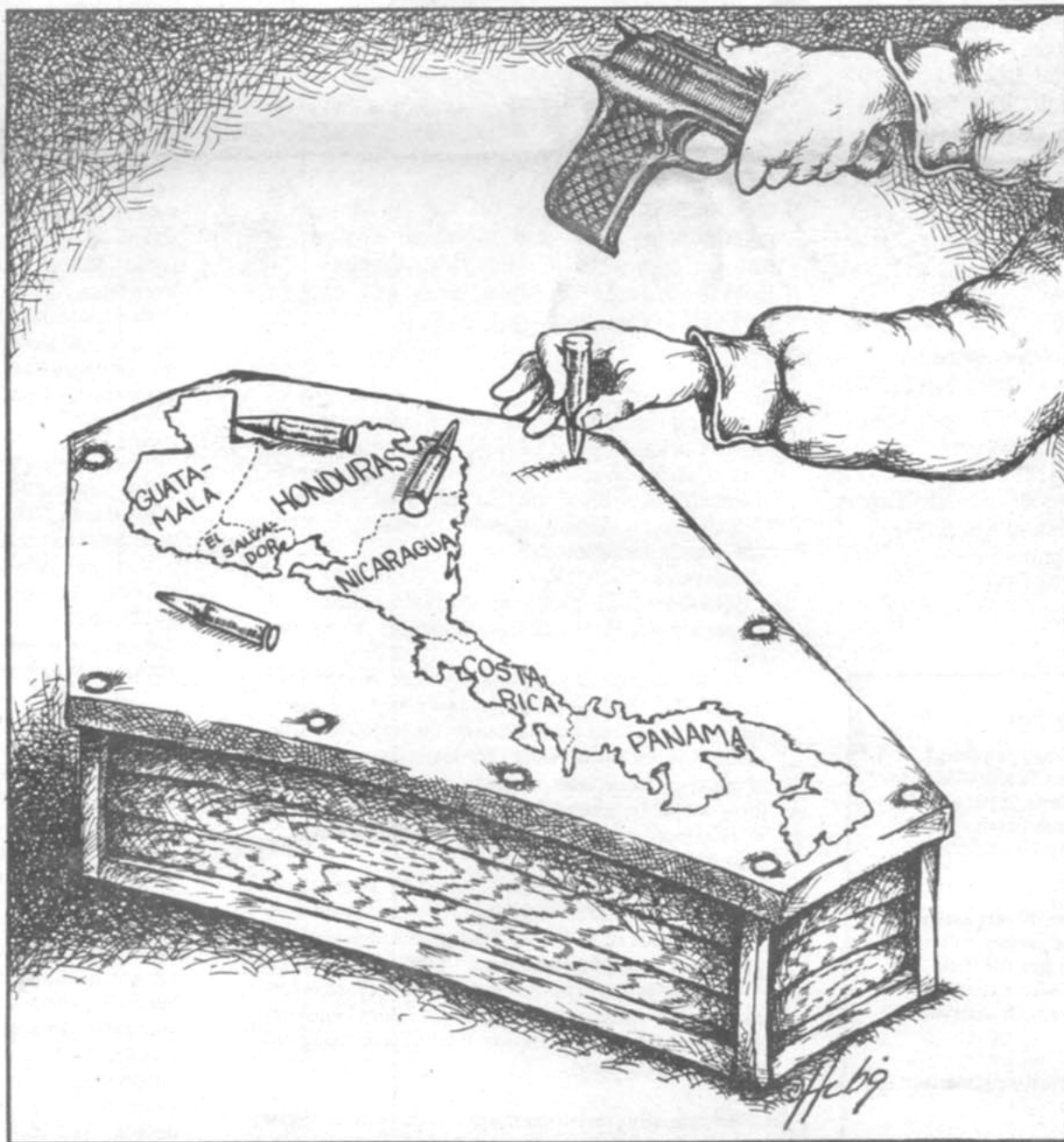
A Journal of Progressive Politics & Ideas

VOL XIV NR 7 AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1983 Whole Number 232

## REAGAN IN ORBIT



## THE DEMOCRATIC GENDER GAP



## PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION

"BUCKING THE SYSTEM SINCE 1966"

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# PROGRESSIVE DIGEST

As we go to press, a women's peace encampment at Seneca Falls, NY, was scheduled to get underway. The tents are being pitched near the Seneca Army Depot, where the neutron bomb is currently stored. This same base is scheduled to be a storage sight for the Pershing II missile and is the departure point for weapons to be deployed to Europe.

The encampment is modeled after the many which have begun in Europe at bases where the Cruise and Pershing missiles are scheduled to be deployed. Info: 265-8183.

The National Organization for Women says it will hold its 1984 convention in Miami Beach, ending a six year boycott of Florida that has been maintained in protest of that state's refusal to ratify the ERA.

**NCEC ANNIVERSARY:** The National Committee for an Effective Congress recently celebrated its 35th anniversary. It is the oldest of the political action committees, largely funding liberal candidates.

**GAY CENTER TO OPEN:** The Franklin E. Kameny Foundation has purchased a Washington building to use as a permanent study center and gay archives. Info: 484-1116 or write the foundation at Box 2851, DC 20013.

Wiretaps are up 17% under Ronald Reagan, but still less than half Richard Nixon's 1971 record of 285.

**WOMENS BRIGADE:** According to Matrix, a women's journal published in Santa Cruz, Calif., an all woman force, called the Silvia Battalion, is involved in the battle against the



central government of El Salvador. Silvia was a woman guerilla who was raped and killed by paramilitary patrols in the summer of 1981. Matrix reports that the women of the Silvia Battalion are highly respected by male guerrillas, and that in a recent seven-day encounter with US-trained Salvadorean troops, two squads of women routed the government soldiers.

**ACORN POLL:** ACORN has polled its members in 30 cities on the 1984 presidential race and Mondale comes out on top with a slim 25%. Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson each got 21% and Alan Cranston got 15%.

A recent survey shows that women make up at least half the membership of 23 major anti-nuclear groups in the U.S. What's more, women in those organizations reportedly fill at least 50 percent of the leadership roles in such areas as fundraising, public outreach, research and overall management.

Secretaries have been promised that learning word processing would open doors to better jobs in management.

Not so, says the Chicago Organization, Women Employed. The Chicago group has just completed a new survey for the Ford Foundation on the impact of word processing on office work. Its interviews with 100 secretaries, consultants, vendors, and word processing professionals produced the discovery that women who work at word processing exclusively actually earn less than secretaries.

Says Anne Ladky of Women Employed: "Better career options are possible in automated offices, but as yet there is no evidence of it. We do not find management upgrading or reshaping secretarial jobs."

Ladky adds that in the few instances where managers did outline a career path, the ladder led from word processing operator to supervisor of word processing operators, and stopped.

Women who resist unarmed rapists stand a better chance of not being raped, and those who resist non-violently have an even better chance of escape. Those are the conclusions of a Northwestern University study of 550 sexual attacks around the U.S. More than half of the women who put up no resistance at all were raped, while only one out of three who fought back was raped. However, rapists were successful with only 20 percent of those who tried screaming, reasoning or running away.

L.A. County supervisor Pete Schabarum has come up with a scheme to lighten that county's relief rolls, by forcing would-be aid-seekers to enlist, instead. While the proposal does not include recipients of Aid to Dependent Children, it does include the homeless, the disabled, and women.

A Schabarum representative, Rita Dimond, says the plan is one of several proposals by the supervisor aimed at saving the county money. The numbers of people on relief, she says, have nearly doubled over the last 18 months. Dimond says the county attorney is now looking into whether the plan is legal.

Even if the measure passes, few women are likely to wind up toting rifles. According to attorney John Landau of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the only way the Army will now take a woman with small children is if she can provide proof that she has given her children up. Women and children, recent studies have shown, make up the bulk of the nation's poor.

The Department of Energy is spending a quarter-million-dollars to produce a film to help Americans make what assistant energy secretary Shelby Brewer calls "sound free-market decisions about nuclear energy." The film will use real plant workers as actors, but a DOE memo warns they should be selected "for their conviction that nuclear power is a viable energy alternative."

A Japanese team of radiation experts is visiting the United States to offer assistance to victims of the bombs which fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

More than 1000 of these atom bomb victims—most of them older women—are believed to be still living in the United States. Like the Japanese victims, the Americans are known as "Hibakusha." Unlike their Japanese counterparts, the American victims do not get government-sponsored medical treatment, and are often even told their radiation symptoms are all in their heads. Many—to avoid having their health insurance cancelled—hide the fact that they ever witnessed the fireballs over Japan.

Now the visiting Japanese medical team is conducting free medical workups for the American Hibakusha, and are offering to transfer the records of those tests to private physicians, so that the U.S. victims can finally receive

President Reagan's assistant for public liaison, Faith Whittlesey recently stated, "I have never been at ease with women. My best friends from the earliest years were boys and men."

Now she has backpeddled. Says Whittlesey—who is responsible for getting women, blacks and others lined up behind Reagan's cause, "That's at ease with women's groups, not at ease with women. I like women," she adds. "I can talk about babies and diapers."

Teenage girls apparently have higher aspirations than boys. In a survey of 1200 Illinois high school students, more girls than boys said they wanted to enter medicine, law or another profession. There was one more interesting note: a third of the girls choose nontraditional careers—engineering, drafting or welding—while only three percent of the boys chose nontraditional male jobs, such as nursing or teaching.

The nuclear power industry says reports of its demise are grossly exaggerated. Despite the cancellation of a hundred reactors since 1972, nuclear power is actually going through a quiet boom: some 30 new plants are scheduled to begin operation by 1985, and supporters are predicting that a rising need for energy will create a public demand for nuclear power by the end of the decade. The Reagan administration, meanwhile, is working to speed up the licensing procedure for new plants, which currently takes about 12 years. Energy Secretary Donald Hodel says the loosened regulations are designed to protect the public, which he says is "paying a horrible price for the delays built into the present system."

One child in every five in the U.S. lives in poverty, and the situation is even worse for minority kids. The

## THE DC GAZETTE

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The Gazette welcomes articles, letters and photos as well as short stories and poems, but cannot, unfortunately, afford to pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

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House Committee on Children, Youth and Families reports that the number of impoverished children living in the U.S. is the most ever in the country's history. Among blacks, one out of every two kids lives in poverty, and the figure is one out of three for hispanic children. A family of four is considered to be living in poverty when its annual income is \$9300. Committee Chairman George Miller says, "We are witnessing the erosion of the gains made in the last 20 years in eliminating poverty."

This year, the Reagan administration will spend about seven times as much money to ensure it survives World War Three as it will to protect the rest of us. What all that money is supposed to buy is secret, but there are three classes of government officials chosen for nuclear salvation. Topping the list are the President, Secretary of Defense and a host of military brass. Then come the Vice President and other designated stand-ins for the chief executive, down to the Secretary of Education. In addition, several thousand preselected bureaucrats are to be whisked to safety, including members of the Postal Service and the Railroad Retirement Board.

In all, the administration has allocated \$150 million to the so-called "continuity of government" program, and just \$20 million to protect the taxpayers themselves. Representative Pat Schroeder, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, says the Reagan administration owes the public an explanation of where all their money is going. "When people find out," the Colorado Democrat says, "that will probably be the death knell for civil defense."

Paraquat, the controversial herbicide sprayed on Mexican marijuana fields, may be more lethal than scientists had thought. The chemical, which is sprayed on 10-million acres of U.S. land each year, has, according to official estimates, been responsible for up to 1000 deaths around the world. But, according to *Science Digest*, those are gross underestimates. The magazine says that in Trinidad alone, two people die from Paraquat poisoning every month, and the death toll in Western Samoa is four times higher. Chevron, the U.S. licensee for Paraquat, says the chemical is safe if handled properly. But the company is not in favor of using the poison to deter pot smokers. As one official told the Drug Enforcement Agency last year, "Terrifying people in order to modify their social behavior is not a registered use of Paraquat."

Good news: kissing someone with a cold does not mean you'll catch it yourself. Researcher Elliot Dick at the University of Wisconsin paired up students suffering from common colds with healthy students, and had them kiss for 90 seconds. The result: only one in twelve came down with the sniffles.

Most doctors agree that stress can make you sick. But studies by both private and public institutions show stressful events aren't what cause illness, it's how people react to them. And someday, experts claim, the brain may be trained to cure or prevent any disease—even cancer. A five-year study of heavy smokers at a Veterans Administration Hospital in Miami, for example, found lung cancer patients had experienced the same number of emotional "life events"—such as marriage, divorce and job loss—as smokers who were free of cancer. But the cancer victims perceived the events to be more stressful and felt responsible for them. Scientists say that if they can develop a profile of a "cancer-prone personality," they may eventually be able to develop psychotherapeutic techniques for curing cancer. As one University of California researcher notes, "Mind and body are inseparable."

The Japanese are about to legalize a new drug that induces abortions in the first 24 weeks of pregnancy. Called "Preglandin," the drug was clinically tested on 500 women and is reportedly 100 percent effective if used on two consecutive days.

The *Wall Street Journal* reports there are growing indications that many of the nation's air traffic controllers use mind-altering drugs while on the job. The evidence suggests that most of the controllers are not drug users, but that drug use has risen since the recruitment of thousands of young people to replace strikers fired by President Reagan in 1981. FAA officials insist drug use by controllers is not frequent. Administrator Lynn Helms admits the allegations are "not surprising," given the age group of controller-trainees, but adds his agency will not tolerate misuse of any drug, in any amount.

# PROGRESS DOESN'T HAVE TO BE DULL

A lot of journals of the left-liberal-progressive persuasion tend to be heavy going. The Gazette has a different idea. It believes that progress should be fun. As Emma Goldman said, "If I can't dance I don't want to join your revolution."

A lot of journals of the left-liberal-progressive persuasion tend to be written tediously. The Gazette has a different idea. The Gazette believes in good writing. Not fancy, strident or self-indulgent writing, but writing that moves the heart and mind.

That's why the Gazette is unique among progressive publications. For seventeen years it has been fighting for social and political change with style and humor. Here are just a few of the things you'll find in the Gazette:

- **THE PROGRESSIVE DIGEST:** a round-up of news items about the environment, politics, the economy, justice, peace, the military and the sexes that are significant but which you are not likely to find in the corporate media.

- **THE BEST OF THE ALTERNATIVE NEWS SERVICES:** Pacific News Service, HerSay News Service, College Press Service, Community Press Features and Rip 'n' Read.

- **ARTHUR HOPPE:** A rare creature: a truly funny and progressive syndicated humorist.

- **EUGENE McCARTHY:** writing with savvy, conscience and wit.

- **DAVID ARMSTRONG:** the former editor of the Berkeley Barb and author of a fine book on the alternative press covers the social and political waterfront in his *American Journal*.

- **CHUCK STONE:** Senior editor of the Philadelphia Daily News and one of the country's leading black journalists. Stone, the author of numerous books on social justice, has been a part of the civil rights movement since before there hardly was any.

- **CHARLES McDOWELL:** The gentle humor and perceptions of a man long regarded as one of the best writers in the Washington press corps.

- **APPLE PIE:** A smorgasbord of ironic, revealing or just plain funny items about what it means to be an American.

- **LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS:** The off-the-wall perspectives of humorist Dave Barry.

- **FINDING OUT MORE:** Where to get more information on matters of interest to activists and progressives.

- **FACT SHEETS:** Basic information on important social and political issues.

- **THE PRESS:** Bob Alperin pores through the media to find what it being done right, wrong or not at all.

The Gazette is edited by Sam Smith, a longtime activist-journalist whose work has appeared in numerous publications both here and abroad. The Washington Post once called him a "friendly anarchist." The Washington Star once wrote: "What Sam Smith and the paper he edits are all about is a combination of things Americans profess to hold dear: iconoclasm, a deeply felt sense of community and, above all, independence." The Washington Tribune called him "One of the best writers in a city full of good writers." Not merely an arm-chair observer, Smith has been active in national campaigns such as the McCarthy and Fred Harris efforts and was a co-organizers of one of the few third parties ever to win public office in recent times.

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Yes, you can send us more names if you wish.



It's going to be a busy vacation. Two of my favorite journalists have produced thick books about two of my least favorite institutions: Sy Hersh on Kissinger and Tom Kelly on the Washington Post. I'm reading them in tandem and since I can't bear to think about either subject for more than a few minutes at a time all I can say at the moment is that both books are often to fine starts. Evelyn Woods and cocktail chatter notwithstanding I do not intend to be rushed; besides I still have my regular quota of Michael Innes, Dick Francis and similar matter to consume, which I confess is ultimately more satisfying because in the end, unlike with Hersh's and Kelly's books, the bad guys get caught.

I am not aware of a good reason to become more than passingly interested in any of the Democratic presidential candidates. Right now the race has all the fascination of a struggle for a Honda regional sales managership. There is, to be sure, some human drama involved in all of the efforts, but even less political substance than we have become accustomed to. I think at the root of the problem is an overwhelming desire on the part of politicians to be nobody — the assumption being that if you are somebody you are going to alienate somebody else. Particularly poignant is Walter Mondale's almost manic desire to be virtually indistinguishable from the other candidates. What happens in this sort of situation is the same thing that occurs with the purchase of aspirin or vodka. Since all the products are virtually the same, you save money by buying the generic or house brand. It would appear that John Glenn is the generic Democrat of the '80s, so many will be inclined to seek no further.

On the other hand, the appeal of a candidate who is, or decides to be, somebody can be quite phenomenal, witness the rise of Ronald Reagan who, in his presidential drive, never seemed to worry about about being found wrong, absurd, or rocking the boat. His strategy, in marked contrast to that of the major Democratic contenders, was first of all to be noticed. Any of the latter would be a substantial improvement over Reagan in the White House, but the way things are going, many people will just be too bored by them to care.

There is, to be sure, the potential candidacy of Jesse Jackson, but I'm not certain whether it would put pressure on the other candidates or just take it off. Jackson and his friends want to send the party a message, but the danger is that the message will be that serious issues are only worth fifteen percent of the vote. Besides, the Jackson crowd has thus far framed the idea as one of a "black candidate," displaying once again the peculiar mixture of arrogance and insecurity that characterizes black politics. On the



one hand, many black politicians overrate the potential of black political clout and, on the other, underrate the potential of a black politician to organize other segments of the country including hispanics, women, the white poor, liberals, the unemployed, the farmers and so forth. To be worth the candle, a black candidacy shouldn't be a black candidacy at all but a coalition candidacy led by a black. The tone of the Jackson effort to date is not encouraging in this regard. If, however, those enthralled with the idea would stop overestimating black voting power and stop underestimating the potential of black leadership on a broad range of issues and a for a broad range of groups something exciting might come of it all.

After all, while John Kennedy was Irish Catholic, he didn't run as an Irish Catholic candidate; and that, for him, made all the difference.

One final presidential note: I hope you noticed who came in third in the Alabama Young Democrats straw poll. Yes, it was none other than Gerald Willis, the lumber magnate who lives in a house just like Andrew Jackson's, and who has been totally ignored by the media outside the deepest south with the exception of this journal. Willis beat out both Mondale and Glenn. Take that, David Broder.

I notice in US News & World Report that a White House poll discovered that only one in three Americans knew that El Salvador was in Central America. Which gives me a chance to plug again Sam's Super Safe Peace Plan: make it a matter of national policy that we will go to the defense of no country a majority of Americans can't find on a map.

Until very late in the proceedings I was under the impression that the purpose of the recent space shuttle mission was to put the first woman into space. Even women newscasters seemed so astounded by the wonder of it all that they barely found time to mention any other possible reason

for dispatching the Challenger. The result was another example of freak journalism which suggested subliminally the reverse of what I assume was intended. It seemed as if a woman in space was not only different but wierd. The New York Times was rare among the media in handling the story. Its lead ran:

"The crew of the space shuttle Challenger reviewed plans today for a flight on which they are to deploy two commercial satellites and, for the first time, release and retrieve a satellite using the shuttle's 50-foot mechanical arm.

"The complicated retrieval maneuver is to be done by Dr. Sally K. Ride, the first American woman to fly in space."

The Washington Post, in contrast, spent all its front page space googling over Ride and leaving no room to mention what she and the rest of the crew were meant to accomplish.

Tris Coffin, editor of the excellent Spectator newsletter, sends along an astounding piece of Reaganiania that has been pretty much forgotten. It's an August 1, 1980, news clipping from the Wall Street Journal that details how Reagan bought a 290 acre parcel of scrub land for \$68,000 and then sold 236 acres of it less than one month after he became governor to Twentieth-Century-Fox Film Company for \$1.9 million. The Journal described the land as "so barren and craggy that it seems more suited for mountain goats than for commercial development" and quotes the president of Fox's real estate unit and saying she didn't know where the records of the sale are and wouldn't discuss it anyway: "Why should we want to air those dirty linens? It would just dirty Fox's name. Maybe management decided they owed Reagan a favor. Who knows? Who cares?"

Given the comfortable image of Reagan as only an amiable bungler, it would seem that not many people do.

Asked to comment on Sy Hersh's book on Kissinger, Richard Nixon aide Nick Ruwe said, "Former president Nixon only comments on his own books."

Good news for all Tuli Kupferberg fans. A collection of his cartoons, some of which have appeared in this journal, as now available for \$1 from Vanity Press, 160 Sixth Ave. NYC NY 10013. You can get two copies for 99 cents. Honest.

Finally, this thought to take with you until the Gazette returns in the fall. It was expressed by Tom Cheek, the "voice of the Blue Jays," during a recent baseball broadcast: "I think there's a great heritage in the American League East which may not have been there in the past."

I'm in love with our  
family therapist --  
BUMPER STICKER

# FINDING OUT MORE

**Human Rights and United States Policy in Central America.** Excellent transcript of a January 13, 1983, Stanford University symposium. Speeches, remarks, and questions and answers of major U.S. human rights advocates, academics and Reagan administration officials and spokespeople. Booklet available for \$2.95/each or \$2.50 for 10 or more copies. Order from: Stanford Central America Action Network, P.O. Box 2231, Stanford, CA 94305.

**Peace Groups in England** want to communicate with like-minded groups in the U.S. By corresponding with each other, exchanging newsletters, etc., groups on both sides of the Atlantic can lend hope and encouragement to each other in our work for peace. If your group would like to participate, write: Jim Webster, 2170 N. Blackjack Road, Galena, IL 61036. You will hear from an English group within a few weeks.

**Speakers' Bureau.** New Fellowship of Reconciliation Speakers' Bureau features 129 women and men from 43 states and Canada. Covers wide range of justice and peace topics. For free brochure, contact: FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, 914-358-4601.

**Southern Africa Project Annual Report.** "1982: Tighter Restrictions, Continued Repression." Contact: Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 733 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

**South Africa—The Nuclear File.** Documents how the U.S. and West Germany aided South Africa in its illicit acquisition of nuclear capability. Reagan administration policies make this film more relevant every day. By Peter Davis, 54 min., 16 mm. Sale: \$825/rental: \$75. Contact: Villon Films, P.O. Box 14144, Seattle, WA 98144, 206-325-8610.

**"Consider the Alternatives,"** the nationwide weekly half-hour radio program from SANE, has cassettes of its indepth program on the Washington First-Strike Weapons Conference (sponsored by the Coalition), available for \$7. "First-Strike Weapons" features Howard Morland's slide briefing plus interviews with Howard, Frank von Hippel of FAS and April Moore of SANE. Send checks to the SANE Education Fund, 5808 Greene Street, Philadelphia, PA 19144 or call toll free to 1-800-528-6050, ext. 17. Ask for program #542.

**The Nuclear Hotline.** Call toll-free to order your Nuclear War Prevention Manual, the detailed guide to nuclear war and everything you can do to stop it. Made possible by the Campaign Against Nuclear War and its affiliated organizations. (Coalition is affiliated.) 800-528-6050, ext. 89.

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— a 40-page brief —

written by Alan B. Sherr, President  
Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control

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- decreases national security
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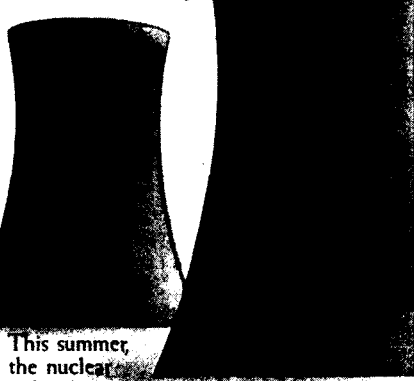
**Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Inc.**  
43 Charles Street, Suite 3  
Boston, MA 02114

A new national public interest organization has been launch to deal with the adverse impacts of animal agriculture. The Farm Animal Reform Movement has begun activities with a veal boycott and an industry watch group to monitor treatment of animals.

Info: PO Box 70123 DC 20088, 301-530-1737.

### AN URGENT CALL

## Help stop the nuclear industry's \$42 million sales j



This summer, the nuclear industry is staking its future—and ours—on a last-ditch, all-out nationwide propaganda campaign to sell us all on a nuclear future.

They have millions of dollars, clever public relations experts, slick radio and TV commercials, and dozens of utility companies on their side.

We have only one weapon: the voluntary efforts of concerned citizens like you.

Your help is urgently needed to (1) monitor and report pro-nuclear advertising on radio and TV stations, (2) help get our side of the story across, and (3) organize the safe energy response in your community.

The nuclear industry is attempting to force consumers to foot the bill for their propaganda. If we fight back now, we can make sure our side gets a fair hearing.

Get involved. Write or call the Safe Energy Communication Council right now. There's really no time to lose.

### Don't buy the nuclear lie!

Sign me up. I want to help fight the nuclear industry's \$42 million propaganda blitz right in my own hometown.

\_\_\_\_ Tell me what I can do, fast.  
\_\_\_\_ I don't have \$42 million, but I'd like to help make sure our side gets heard. I enclose my tax-deductible contribution:

\_\_\_\_ \$15 \_\_\_\_ \$25 \_\_\_\_ \$50  
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Mail to: Safe Energy Communication Council, 1609 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 4B, Washington, D.C. 20009  
Phone: (202) 483-8491

### VIEWPOINTS; A Directory of Major Newspapers and Their Op-Ed Policies:

A listing of the nation's 160 biggest newspapers and their policies for accepting opinion pieces from non-staff writers. Each listing includes address, phone number, percentage of non-staff pieces published, word length and special requirements. \$3 from the Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Mass. Ave. NE, DC 20002

[Thanks to WIN Magazine and the Coalition for a New Military and Foreign Policy for some of this information]

If you're a photographer interested in working with a wide variety of nonprofit organizations — including this one — you should know about the Center for Public Photography. The Center is a nonprofit organization that's improving the quality of photography used by other nonprofit organizations by introducing them to its member photographers. This allows nonprofits to publish and distribute good photographs at a price they can afford. It also gives photographers an opportunity to have their work widely seen through publication in magazines, calendars, slide shows, etcetera.

If you'd like more information on how you can become involved, please contact:

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P. O. Box 1714  
Albany, OR 97321

The military takeover of the space program under the Reagan administration is creating a backlash.

Representative Joe Moakley (D-MA) and 78 other representatives have introduced a resolution calling for immediate negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for a ban on weapons of any kind in space.

The goal of such negotiations would be to prohibit the testing, deployment or use of any weapons beyond the atmosphere. (Currently, only nuclear weapons are banned from space.) Such a treaty, eventually extending to all space-faring nations, would forestall the impending arms race in orbit and keep the other worlds of the solar system free of military activities and available for open scientific inquiry. The resolution is being supported by leading astronomers and other scientists, and is vigorously opposed by aerospace industry lobbyists and "star wars" Reagan.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Space Forum is helping to plan demonstrations at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida next November when the Department of Defense will launch the first all-military space shuttle flight. At the same time, people will gather at the Soviet consulates in New York and San Francisco to protest the Soviet military space program.

Contact: Progressive Space Forum, Christopher Simpson, 3402 Newton St. #6, Mt. Ranier, MD 20712.

— Vermont Vanguard

A new handbook, "Understanding Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control," has been published by Arms Control Research, Box 1355, Arlington, Va. 22210.

Nine to Five, the national association of working women, has set up a toll-free hotline to deal with office workers's complaints about video display terminals. The hotline number is 800-521-VDTS.



## Downtown

After all these years of touting "downtown revitalization" at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars, the Washington Post finally went out and asked ordinary people what they thought about shopping downtown. The Post reported that, based on its polls, "Washington area shoppers say it will take better, cheaper parking and less traffic congestion to lure them to a revitalized downtown retail area -- a desire that runs counter to the District's emphasis on subway use and pedestrian traffic in the area." In fact, nearly half of DC residents polled said they preferred shopping in the suburbs.

The poll's emphasis on the parking question reveals again how far off base conventional thinking about economic development is in this town. Having started with the presumption that salvation must be found downtown and with the unbalanced mix of uses that typifies most American downtowns, the planners and the Post are in a hopeless trap.

In fact, one good way to deal with the traffic and parking problem is to disperse retail activity, just as occurs in the suburbs. Anyone who thinks this can't be done should go to Georgetown on a Saturday afternoon. Or drive out to Iverson Mall and ask yourself why does this have to be in Prince Georges County rather than along the banks of the Anacostia River?

Secondly, planners should finally admit that they were wrong in driving small specialty shops out of downtown and start to reverse the trend. The big advantage that downtown used to have was that you go to Woodies and get your blivet repaired at the blivet repair shop, too. Now, high rents and "revitalization" have driven the blivet repairers to Kensington. It is worth noting that 79% of the people responding to the Post poll said they would be attracted to downtown if it had a greater variety of shops than one could find elsewhere. That used to be the case. But the perversity of the planners took care of that.

Thirdly, the planners should finally realize that they can't support substantial retail activity downtown using the place as a nine to five ghetto. There needs to be a substantial residential market living in and adjacent to downtown.

Fourthly, the planners should finally spend just a few minutes trying to make shopping easier downtown. For example, there is no place to put a couple of shopping bags on the subway. Public transit in this town is not designed for anyone carrying more than an attache case. Crossing signals are coordinated for automobiles rather

Banking establishments  
are more dangerous than  
standing armies. --  
THOMAS JEFFERSON



SAM SMITH

than pedestrians. Simple devices such as awnings to protect people from rain and heat are ignored.

Finally, the city barely raises a finger on behalf of small businesses anywhere in the town. In short, there are far more things than lack of parking wrong with DC's approach to economic development.

THE IMPERIAL POST (BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS DEPARTMENT): "Western Plaza, the grand space on the grand boulevard of Pennsylvania Avenue, is a place some people love to hate. Not me. I like it a lot. \*\*\* I have never visited the place without being moved by its beauty." -- Benjamin Forgey in a review of the Archihorse/DC Gazette Western Plaza redesign contest. There had been doubt in some quarters whether Forgey would be able to live up to his predecessor's record of unswerving devotion to the pompously sterile in urban design, but the man really seems up to the task. Why the Post should want to pay him for doing it, however, is another question. Forgey, incidentally, managed to write several columns in this vein without once mentioning that the contest was sponsored by

The local American Civil Liberties Union has denounced a bill introduced by Councilmember Frank Smith, which would make it unlawful for any person to "linger" in a public area in or adjacent to a "Narcotics Loitering Zone." The zones would be designated by a Deputy Chief of Police or after a citizen submits a petition with one hundred signatures.

"The proposed law clearly violates the Constitution," said Liz Symonds, ACLU staff attorney. "It is vague and overbroad and would permit the police to sweep the streets of many passers-by."

The bill would make it a crime to "linger" in or around a designated area unless a person has a bona fide reason for being in the area. However, no definition of "lingering" is provided. Without a specific definition, individuals on the street cannot know whether or not they are breaking the law, and the police have unlimited discretion to enforce the law unfairly.

Equally troubling is the bill's description of "bona fide reason," which is described as "a legitimate interest in commerce or a lawful purpose in communicating with others." But as the U.S. Court of Appeals recognized in the 1968 ACLU case of *Ricks v. United States*, which struck down D.C.'s former "narcotics vagrancy statute," it is a lawful purpose to be on the street merely for exercise, or recreation, or fresh air, or for no particular purpose.

Yet a mere one-hundred signatures could transform a neighborhood into one of these "designated zones." In addition, a Deputy Chief of Police could so declare a zone.

the DC Gazette. I always thought it was the source that was supposed to be anonymous not the subject. If you would like to see this exhibit that Forgey found so unworthy, it's on display through July at the School of Architecture at the University of Maryland in College Park.

BYE, BEN: The Gazette reported exclusively in the March issue that "Word from UDC is that even some of those who supported his selection as president of the university are getting tired of Benjamin Alexander. \*\*\* Don't be surprised to see Alexander disappear from UDC far faster than anyone had guessed."

HILLENDALE: When the developers of Hillendale got permission from the Zoning Commission to do their thing, the ZC gave them until 1984 to complete the project. Hillendale, beset by the poor housing market, is now back before the commission to request an extension to 1994.

PAC MAN PHOBIA: ACLUers Earl Callen and David Beidler, testifying before a council committee on the pending bills to limit young people's access to video arcades, pointed out that truant youths are just as apt to be hanging around on a streetcorner, going to a movie or playing a game of basketball; yet no one has suggested making basketball illegal. Further, there has been no increase in truancy with the advent of the arcades. Callen and Beidler pointed out that a federal court held a similar law in Texas to be unconstitutional because it discriminated against establishments with video games and not all other businesses or activities that might attract youths.

HIGH SPEED CHASE: It was just a small item in the Post but a Fairfax County woman was killed recently on the George Washington Parkway by a car being pursued by park police. The killer car's offense: speeding.

If you wander into the Hart Senate Office Building and find a lot of public servants just standing around, here's why. The Senate, in a cost-cutting mood, deleted funds for new furniture in the building. Senators were just meant to bring their old furniture with them. Turns out that in their previous quarters a lot of staffers were doubling up on desks and other furniture and what with twice as much space for each staffer in the Hart Building there has been a flood of requests for furniture. According to Roll Call newspaper, estimates are that there's a need for 400 additional desks, 1500 chairs, 1000 filing cabinets, 400 conference tables, and 200 desk lamps.

Once again last month, Metro cut back service on a variety of DC bus lines. With more and more lines running on a less frequent basis, (especially during non-rush hours) the importance of Metro taking bus

(Please turn to page 21)

# THE DEMOCRAT'S GENDER GAP

James Ridgeway

Democratic Party strategists are eagerly eyeing a new source of votes in the growing "gender gap" in U.S. politics: women who have turned away from President Reagan because of his arms spending and social policies.

But the same politicians are now facing withering criticism from a surprising source -- women activists inside their very ranks who claim the party is losing elections thanks to a gender gap of its own.

While they seldom say so in public, these in-house critics believe that the men who run their party will not back women for office, even when they are clearly strong candidates. They point out that women account for only 5.8 percent of the members of Congress, 13 percent of state legislators and 7.1 percent of the federal judiciary. At present there are no women governors.

The campaign experience of Harriet Woods, who ran for the U.S. Senate in Missouri last year, is emerging as a chief symbol of the frustrations and anger felt by women Democrats. In 1982, most senior Missouri politicians were clearly uneasy at the prospect of taking on incumbent G.O.P. Sen. John C. Danforth. One by one, they politely opted out of the fight. But Woods, a state senator, believed that Danforth could be successfully challenged, and announced her own intention to make the attempt.

At first Woods' male colleagues encouraged her; then they began expressing doubts. "One of the things that scared the Democratic Party, and Sen. Thomas Eagleton in particular, was to

have a pro-abortion woman running statewide," recalls a party professional who worked on the Woods campaign.

"They were convinced a woman couldn't win statewide in Missouri," agrees Harriet Woods, "and that a woman couldn't raise money for a U.S. Senate campaign."

As a result, the Democratic leaders decided to back Burleigh Arnold, a longtime party official who had never run for elective office. "I was told by a party broker that I should withdraw," Woods recalled. But she persisted, and by the time the primary was over, she had beaten 10 other contenders, leaving her nearest opponent 20 points behind.

Once she was the official candidate, Woods received pro-forma party support. Meanwhile, as she began to show promise against Danforth, the G.O.P. rallied massively to its senator's defense. Says Woods: "The Republicans really came in, took over and threw all their resources into it, brought in all sorts of people." As for the Democratic party, "It was, well, 'Good Luck.'"

With very little money on hand, Woods chose to counter by pouring everything into a one-week media blitz. The tactic brought her ever closer to Danforth, and newspaper polls began to show her actually taking the lead. But she was broke, and party money did not arrive in time to maintain the momentum.

"The day before the election, Howard Baker came into St. Louis on behalf of Danforth and said I was going to close down McDonnell

Douglas, which is the biggest employer in the state of Missouri," recalls Woods. "That was balderdash, of course, but I had no one to counter with. I didn't have any senators." The Democratic senator, Eagleton, was in Africa on a Congressional fact-finding tour during the most hectic days of Woods' race.

Thus Democratic regulars watched as Woods fought Danforth down to the wire in what became the closest Senate race in the nation. She lost by a margin of 50.9 percent to 49.1 percent.

In the eyes of many women party professionals, the Woods campaign is the best example of a Democratic Party suicidal impulse when it comes to exploiting the gender gap. But it is far from the only example, they say.

Frances Farlay, the first woman to be elected to the Utah State Senate in 20 years, ran for the U.S. Congress as a Democrat in 1982. Farlay had been prominent in the fight against the MX missile, and her opposition to the arms race was well known. But her campaign in Salt Lake City was overshadowed by Mayor Ted Wilson's U.S. senatorial challenge to Republican Orrin Hatch.

Farlay's early money came from a network of women who got on the phone and within a few days raised \$32,000. As with Woods, she also received help from the Women's Campaign Fund in Washington. In the election, she outpolled every other Utah Democrat running for national office, with 42.6 percent of the vote. Ted Wilson got 41.3 percent.

Farlay was mystified by what seemed to be a purposeful lack of Party support, despite that strong run. "I got a \$500 check from the Democratic Congressional Committee," she says, "then later, a couple of others for the same amount." Her campaign costs were a quarter of a million dollars.

"I raised a lot of hell during the campaign because I thought it didn't make any sense," she says. "It seemed to me that the Democratic

Party ought to be encouraging good women candidates."

"I wasted a lot of time with them," Farlay now concludes. "I don't know if they didn't have any money or what. Whatever it was, it was too little too late."

Roxanne Conlins' race for Governor of Iowa against conservative Republican Terry Branstad is another, albeit more complicated, example. Conlin, a former U.S. attorney, came out of the primary with what looked like a good chance of winning.

Then it was revealed that she and her husband had used tax shelters, which she had been criticizing widely, to avoid paying back

state taxes. Although political damage was sustained, the campaign regrouped and began to move back up in the polls.

Nevertheless, party regulars made a concerted effort to dump Conlin altogether. She eventually lost.

"I've never seen that happen to a man," says one observer. Normally, party regulars "would have all said 'Let's clean it up,' or all come to the defense. But they wouldn't have walked out of the campaign, worked to destroy the campaign."

The double standard doesn't surprise former New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug, who now heads Women U.S.A., a New York-based group dedicated to registering more women voters. Abzug feels that her own chances for re-election were similarly doomed by a lack of normal party backing, as are those of many women today.

"They're not so clear that they really want us there," says Abzug of the party power structure's attitude toward women. "That's because we're largely insurgents; we're largely independent. And if there are going to be more women (in office), there will be fewer men."

(C)PNS





# AIDS'S LATEST VICTIM

Rasa Gustaitis

SAN FRANCISCO -- A widespread popular belief may wind up on the growing list of AIDS victims in America -- the notion that modern medicine is just steps away from the conquest of serious illness.

Linked to both infection and lifestyle, AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) is calling new attention to complex interactions between the human organism and disease "triggering" factors -- micro-organisms, personal habits, environment -- that had long been overlooked while researchers concentrated on other matters.

For decades, the progress of Western medicine has been marked by success in the elimination or control of specific diseases -- tuberculosis, polio, typhus, diphtheria, whooping cough, measles, smallpox -- and by discoveries of disease-fighting drugs such as penicillin and other antibiotics. Thus, when President Richard Nixon "declared war on cancer" a decade ago, "he spread the illusion that the cure was around the corner," said Dr. Leon Wofsy, a noted immunologist at the University of California, Berkeley.

But cancer remained elusive. The more it was studied, the more it appeared to involve complicated interplays, rather than a simple process of cause and effect.

Moreover, as the list of old diseases shrank, new ones were popping up: Legionnaire's disease, spawned by an organism that proliferated in the cooling towers of some modern office buildings; toxic shock syndrome, linked to a certain kind of sanitary tampon.

According to Marc Lappe, professor of health policy at Berkeley, a few microbes accounted for most infectious diseases 40 years ago. These were easily recognized, and treatable with antibiotics. Now, he maintains, antibiotic-resistant infections are responsible for many thousands of deaths annually, and the toll is mounting. Some of the hardest strains thrive in hospitals, having overcome antiseptics.

These developments have highlighted the need for physicians to broaden their lens on disease. "It can't be a war of 'drugs against bugs,' because the bugs will always win," said Dr. Leonard Duhl, professor of public health at Berkeley.

AIDS worries health authorities because of its high mortality rate -- estimates range from 38 to 82 percent -- and an incubation period which may be as long as two years. But doctors are just as concerned about its apparent biological complexity.

It is not in itself even a disease, points out Dr. Peter Drotman, who works with a special federal AIDS task force at the national Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta. In effect, it is a breakdown of the body's natural defense system, opening the floodgates for a rush of "opportunistic" diseases. These include a rare form of cancer, Kaposi's

Sarcoma, and toxoplasmosis, an infectious disease of the nervous system.

What causes the immune system to collapse, leaving a person entirely undefended against infection? Several theories are being investigated. An infectious agent, perhaps a virus, could be invading the immune system. Viruses are hard to identify because they do not simply attack cells; they take them over and change them. If such a virus is found, it does not necessarily follow that immunization against it will be possible.

Noticing parallels between AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, particularly Hepatitis B, a viral infection common among intravenous drug users and gays (the predominant victims of AIDS), some CDC researchers theorize that a mutant of that virus may play a role. Others speculate that a virus common elsewhere, but not yet identified, might have been introduced to the United States.

Another area of investigation looks to the possibility that lifestyle factors have stretched the victims' self-defense systems

beyond the breaking point. The clearest predictive element for AIDS, said Dr. Drotman, is sexual activity. A CDC study comparing gay male AIDS victims to others without the disorder found those afflicted had hundreds of sexual partners.

None of these theories works for all AIDS victims, who include hemophiliacs, intravenous drug users and Haitians.

In addition to AIDS, "more and more diseases are turning out to involve some dislocation of the immune system," said Dr. Wofsy. These include juvenile-onset diabetes, and some forms of arthritis and cancer. Such discoveries have prompted immunology to shift away from its once-narrow preoccupation with vaccines. Progress in this larger field, which brings together new information on genes, proteins and cells, has been "awesome," Wofsy says.

Just 20 years ago, the key cell in the immune system, the lymphocyte, was not even known. Today a dozen different kinds of lymphocytes have been discovered in humans, operating through an elaborate system of microscopic checks and balances. But the more that is found out, the more clear it becomes how little is actually known about the human body's own self-defense process.

Dr. Lewis Thomas, president of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York, believes that a key may lie in studying the 75

percent of the population that does not get cancer. "Perhaps all of us are experiencing, from one carcinogenic environmental influence to another, the emergence of single cancer cells and a few of their progeny from time to time... and eliminating them promptly when they are perceived as foreign by our lymphocytes," he has written. "If the recognition comes too late, or not at all, cancer develops."

Thomas finds support for his theory in the fact that a significant proportion of people with kidney or heart transplants contract cancer. This, he suggests, could be a result of prolonged treatment with drugs that suppress the immune system.

Some critics of conventional medicine argue that the heavy use of drugs reflects undue concentration on fighting symptoms, rather than actual problems. Many of these symptoms, such as fever, have recently been shown to have a useful healing function. The result, say some doctors, is that the conquest of disease remains distant, while their profession flounders in ignorance of the basic systemic balance that defines "health."

"We have juggled up the system so much by trying to control the pieces of it, that the rest is out of whack, and can't correct itself," says Berkeley's Dr. Duhl.

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## EUGENE MCCARTHY

### Of Arms, Chess & Poker

I have, after years of trying, figured out why the Russians and the Americans could make no progress in negotiating a limit on nuclear arms build up, even after both sides had, according to authorities, sufficient nuclear military power to destroy each other ten or twenty times. It was marginally within reason to allow for two killings, in fear of second comings, and possibly on the suspicion that Russians, like cats, might have nine lives, but to go beyond those limits was to move into the range of unreason.

Discussions of arms control and limitations began in the Eisenhower Administration and have continued in fits and starts (more have been started than have been concluded) through five succeeding presidential administrations and on into the Regan period.

As each new weapon system, missile, bomb, submarine, airplane, etc. was proposed, it was almost inevitably described by its U.S. advocates as a "bargaining chip" which would surely improve our position at the bargaining table.

In recent weeks, the term "bargaining chip" has been back in the news. Thus

the Reagan Administration has stated that the MX missile, even if placed in a vulnerable silo, possibly particularly so, would be a bargaining chip. Obviously, a bargaining chip must be exposed. It is not like a card held in a poker hand which has not been shown to one's opponents at the table. The administration does not say whether it considers the MX as a "white chip" for openers, as a "red chip," possibly as a deterrent, or as the final heavy offering, "a blue chip."

Former Vice-President Mondale has questioned the effectiveness of the MX as a "bargaining chip." He does not say why, nor does he oppose the use of bargaining chips. He says that if we want bargaining chips, there are plenty available.

The difficulty in all of these negotiations is one of language, of metaphor. The Russians are not heavy into poker. In fact, I know of no Russian poker players. Their game is chess. They think chess. Their images in international negotiations must certainly be drawn from their game.

Chess is an orderly game, a defined one. It is played on a board. Each has a special value. Its moves

are prescribed. Although chess allows for a "ploy," it has little room for bluffing. There are no hidden cards and the game ends because certain conditions are met, not, as in poker, because participants run out of money or because they are exhausted.

In keeping with this analysis, it is understandable that the Russians could agree to SALT II, which, provided for an end to the game when certain conditions were met in "checkmate" in the year 2000. The concept of checkmate is foreign to the thought of poker players or to those who think as poker players. Poker does not allow for ties. George Kennan in an analysis of the Helsinki accords points out that it was consistent and in character for the Russians to agree to the territorial provisions of those accords, which were specific and defined, but folly to believe that they understood or accepted the human rights provisions of those accords as we did.

Russians and Americans should, before undertaking further dis-arming discussions, agree on common imagery. Possibly one meeting could be held in which all

figures of speech had to be drawn from poker and another from chess. There would still be room for negotiation and misunderstanding but some of the difficulties might be overcome. The vulnerable MX, now called a "bargaining chip," might be considered as "pawn" in chess.

The B1 and the Russian Backfire bombers as knights. Our aircraft carriers as bishops moving only on the diagonal, to be matched by Russian tanks, also considered as bishops although operating on land rather than on water. The anti-ballistic missile instruments and technology as "castles." Our nuclear submarines and those of the Russians as queens, the most dangerous striking forces. Conventional weapons on both sides, unless the nod goes to heavy, exposed missiles, might serve as kings, the last to be called into play and the last to go.

While negotiations in the language of chess continue, Russian diplomats should be asked to take up poker, so that in the event of the failure of negotiations on a chess basis, further negotiations in the language of poker might be continued and continued.



# LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS

Dave Barry

Summer's here, a time when we look at our bodies, which have ingested, if we stop to calculate it, more than 75,000 individual Doritos brand corn chips dipped in bacon-and-horseradish dip over the winter months, and we decide to go outdoors to get healthy again. Americans firmly believe that the outdoors is a healthy place to be.

Americans are loons. The outdoors is insanely dangerous, a fact that is well known to any creature who actually lives there. Squirrels, for example. You never see a relaxed squirrel. They're always twitching and staring and jerking their heads around violently in case something is sneaking up behind them to eat them. Eventually most squirrels turn to narcotics, which is why their average life span is so shockingly short. At least I assume it is. Most of them look awfully young to me.

So if you plan to go outdoors this year, fine, go ahead, enjoy yourself, but try to make it as safe as possible, okay? Here are some safety tips to help make sure you get through the summer without any major deaths or anything, so you'll be hale and hearty when it's time to go back inside and watch the new fall TV lineup featuring brand-new episodes of "60 Minutes."

We'll start with water safety. The most important rule of water safety is that you must never swim in water unless it is completely surrounded by concrete and contains large quantities of man-made chemicals that are toxic to wildlife. This means you must stay out of lakes, because they have muck bottoms that your feet could sink into, which could cause you to drown or, worse, disturb a snapping turtle. Snapping turtles are already pretty annoyed because they have to mate for life, so if you disturb one it will try to bite your limbs off, and it will probably succeed because snapping turtles have no natural enemies and consequently grow to the size of motel rooms.

Of course sometimes you are forced to swim in lakes. For example, under federal law, children are not permitted to come home from summer camp until they swim in the lake. And sometimes you may go on an outing wherein your companions have a few beers and leap into the lake and you really want to join them on the grounds that it's a hot day and they seem to be having fun and there's a good chance that everybody is going to eventually get naked. Okay. If an emergency such as this arises, you can go into the lake, but you must swim with constant, violent motion of your hands and feet so as to keep as much of your body out of the water where it will be easily visible from a rescue helicopter. You must not use the deadly "crawl" stroke wherein you thrust your arms suggestively into the depths, toward the giant lake-dwelling carp that are watching you with buggy eyes and wondering with their primitive carp brains if you would fit in their mouths.

Ocean safety is different. The safest way to go into the ocean is wearing a wet suit and tanks of air and carrying a knife so that if a giant wave sweeps you out to the depths you'll still be able to breathe and defend yourself from stinging jellyfish and enormous clams such as are featured from time to time in *National Geographic*. For a detailed look at ocean safety, I suggest you view the excellent safety film series "Sea Hunt," in which Lloyd Bridges demonstrates how to sever the air supply of a criminal who is trying to sever your air supply underwater. Lloyd had a lot of practice at this, because the body of water where "Sea Hunt" was filmed was infested with criminals. Lloyd couldn't leap off the boat without landing on one.

So there you have Water Safety. I was going to cover Plant Safety, but I see that I've run out of space here, so I'll have to leave that for another time, except to say you should never eat or touch any plant that has not been chopped up and frozen and put into a cardboard box. Have a really swell summer.

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Feature Associates

## ARTHUR HOPPE

For years, the CIA agents had been courageously gathering samples of "Yellow Rain" in Southeast Asia to prove the Soviets were waging chemical warfare on peasants and insurgents. So when a distinguished team of scientists announced in the spring of 1983 that the samples looked like bee guano to them, panic swept the Pentagon.

"Bee guano!" cried General Hap Hawker, director of Research & Development. "Trust those sneaky commies to develop an entirely new weapons system under our very noses!"

For the sad truth, as General Hawker was forced to admit to the president, was the the United States had no bee guano retaliatory capability whatsoever.

And thus did a nervous America face the Great Bee Guano Gap.

With characteristic boldness, President Reagan immediately demanded \$100 billion from Congress for a crash bee guano development program. "Now we know what Krushchev meant," warned the president in a grim, nationwide television address, "when he said he was going to bury us."

The president was vigorously backed by such military analysts as Herman Kahn and Edward Teller. In their joint bestseller, "Bee Guano—Man's Best Friend," they contended mankind no longer need worry about World War III for world peace would now rest securely upon the theory of "Mutually Assured Defilement" or MAD.

Despite such arguments, Congress proved reluctant to appropriate more than initial research funds. A hitch developed when General Hawker ordered a "Bee-Two" pilot program in an effort to shortcut production costs.

"We are launching 147 million bees from the Aberdeen Proving Grounds," he proudly told the press. "These

subsonic little American fighter-bombers, each with a tiny flag painted on its tail, will fly out to sea and sink the mothballed battleship, Missouri, with 147 million direct hits—thus eliminating the need for a vast guano processing industry and expensive delivery systems."

Unfortunately, due to a malfunction in the inertial guidance system, the Bee-Two armada missed the battleship and absolutely ruined a reception for the Princess of Mbonga in the White House Rose Room—despite frantic pleas by Defense Secretary Weinberger to "close the window of vulnerability!"

Two other factors slowed the guano defense program. One was pressure from Christians and other pacifists for "a mutual verifiable, worldwide guano freeze" although no two members of the group could agree on what to do with the frozen guano.

Similarly, advocates of the guano buildup ran into a basing problem. While most, out of necessity, favored a dense pack, not even the residents of Cheyenne, Wyoming, were eager to be up to their whatevers in bee guano.

In a brilliant move, however, General Hawker provided a consortium called the Busy Bee Waste Treatment Plant with \$6.2 billion in seed money. It used the funds to buy 12 bees, 51 senators and 217 congressmen. Thus was the Bee Guano Program born.

Subsequently, the president had no trouble securing appropriations for more guano, which he said was essential for his Guano Control Talks with the Russians. "Everyone loathes guano," he explained patiently. "And that's why we need more guano in order to reduce the amount of guano in our arsenal of democracy"

So at least American ingenuity closed the Great Guano Gap. But there was no resting on technological laurels. For a CIA agent, crossing a grassy field in distant Phynkia in the dead of night, stepped into yet another devious Soviet weapons system.

"Fear not, sir," General Hawker reassured the president. "Even now, we are mobilizing our nation's patriotic cows and, thanks to a scientific breakthrough, we will soon have the ultimate weapon for peace—the MIRVed Meadow Muffin."

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## AMERICAN JOURNAL

DAVID ARMSTRONG

When you go into a store to make a purchase, it's nice to walk in with a reasonable expectation that what you're about to buy won't kill you. There are regulations to protect you in the marketplace, of course. Many of those regulations are rooted in scientific tests of products on the shelves. But what if the test results are off? Worse yet, what if they're faked? What, then, can you safely buy, and what must you avoid?

If the panelists for Project Censored are on target, American consumers have no sure way of answering those questions. The reason? The nation's largest testing laboratory—responsible for conducting "about one-third of the toxicity and cancer-testing of chemicals in America—performed fraudulent tests on chemicals used in deodorant soaps, arthritis medication, pesticides and other products. In some experiments," according to Project Censored's researchers, "rats which died were replaced by live ones and not reported."

This stunning but little-known report was recently voted the top censored story of 1982 by a panel of 10 media critics. Project Censored picks 10 such stories every year that are misrepresented or underreported—in effect, censored by keeping them from the public. Serving on this year's panel were famed muckraker Jessica Mitford, media critic Ben Bagdikian, former Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson and linguist Noam Chomsky.

Project Censored's other picks are:

2. *Super-Secret Spy Court*. Although few citizens know it, the U.S. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, "located in lead-enclosed vault on the sixth floor of the Justice Dept. in Washington, D.C., reviews intelligence agency requests to spy on Americans in this



country. Secrecy surrounding the court is exceptional. It is not mentioned in the United States Court Directory; it isn't listed as an official government operation; and it doesn't appear in the Government Organizational Manual." Between 1978 and 1981, according to Project Censored, the court "heard 962 requests for electronic surveillance—and approved all 962 requests."

3. *End of Equal Opportunity?* In less than 20 years, the reform legislation inspired by the civil rights movement, supposedly guaranteeing equal access to jobs, housing and education, has been largely dismantled by the Reagan administration—"without real public input . . . and without significant media coverage."

4. *Agent White*, a very powerful pesticide sold under the trade name Tordon, is widely used across the country, despite supposedly strict restrictions.

5. *The Real Story of Central America* isn't told in bang-bang coverage and State Dept. press releases. Sustained, independent, in-depth coverage, the jury concluded, is sadly lacking.

6. *Ronald Reagan: America's Chief Censor*. Reagan's attempts to weaken the Freedom of Information Act and his efforts to plug leaks of classified government information are "significantly reducing the . . . information available to the public about the operation of the economy, the environment and public health."

7. *U.S. Against the World*. The United States cast the only dissenting vote in the United Nations last December on a resolution endorsing a treaty to outlaw nuclear weapons. One hundred eleven nations voted in favor; 35 countries abstained.

8. *Trading with the Enemy*. In a book of the same title, author Charles Higham reports that some of America's leading corporations did extensive business with Nazi Germany before and during World War II. Higham says money—and, in some cases, fascist sympathies—led American business into the arms of Hitler.

9. *\$2 Billion of Unnecessary Fertilizer*. According to *The New Farm*, an organic farming magazine, "nearly all of the chemical fertilizer recommended by some 70 labs" in recent years was found worthless by researchers. The tab for such supposedly useless fertilizers runs to two billion dollars a year.

10. *Toxic Waste on the Reservations*. Toxic waste firms are wooing Indian reservations as possible drop sites—the better to avoid the most stringent federal regulations on chemical dumping.

The founder and director of Project Censored, Dr. Carl Jensen, ascribes the underreporting of these and similar stories to the threat of costly libel suits, pressure to gut the Freedom of Information Act, advertisers' pres-

sure and media self-censorship. Next year, Jensen and his jury will pick 10 more stories you should have heard about, but probably didn't.

If you'd like to nominate a story for next year's list, send a copy of the piece to Dr. Carl Jensen, Project Censored, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, CA 94928.

## REAGAN IN ORBIT

Chris Robinson

The Pentagon has always played a role in the U.S. space program and relies on satellites for support of many military missions. During President Ronald Reagan's term in office, however, there has been a qualitative change in the Pentagon's space activity.

Following his declaration of a U.S. space policy on July 4, 1982, Reagan ordered the Air Force to create a Space Command (Spacecom) with headquarters in Colorado. His directions to the Pentagon called for development of new space weapons, and his March 23, 1983, speech to the nation forecast development of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system in space.

Reagan has pushed the Pentagon to clarify its space program and to enhance its capability to fight in space. Under Reagan, Pentagon spending for space activity has grown faster than the rest of the burgeoning military budget and now exceeds spending by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) for civilian space operations. Combined with the success of the space shuttle, these elements create a new atmosphere around the space program.

From the beginning of the space shuttle program, the Pentagon has been actively involved. In fact, the shuttle traces its history back to the Air Force's X-20 Dyna-Soar program, cancelled in 1963, and to the Manned Orbiting Laboratory shelved in 1969 because the Air Force could not afford it during the war with Vietnam.

The Air Force is now building its own shuttle launch site at Vandenberg Air Force Base near Santa Barbara, California, and 113 of the 311 shuttle flights will carry exclusively military payloads. From the first test flight in April 1981, through completion of the sixth flight in April 1983, the shuttle has been a success and an inspiration to the Pentagon.

In fact, it was at the landing of the shuttle *Columbia* on July 4, 1982, that Reagan announced his new space policy. Using his standard double talk, Reagan defined "peace" to mean "war": "The U.S. is committed to the exploration and use of space by all nations for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind. 'Peaceful purposes' allow activities in pursuit of national security goals."

To carry this out, the directive says that the space shuttle will give launch priority to military missions. These include "such functions as command and control, communications, navigation, environmental monitoring, warning, surveillance, and space defense."

Further, the president called for operational deployment of an anti-satellite weapon "to deny any adversary the use of space-based systems that provide support to hostile military forces." In addition, Reagan said, "The U.S. will develop and maintain an integrated attack warning, notification, verification, and contingency reaction capability which can effectively detect and react to threats to U.S. space systems."

Reagan's Defense Guidance, a document which defines his military strategy for the next five years, says, "The U.S. space program will contribute to the deterrence of an attack on the U.S., or, if deterrence fails, to the prosecution of war by developing, deploying, operating, and supporting space systems."

To coordinate his space policy, Reagan set up a Senior Interagency Group on Space, chaired by his assistant for national security affairs. The shift to military control of space operations is clear. Under previous presidents, space policy was coordinated by a Policy Review Committee (Space), chaired by the director of science and technology.

As a result of Reagan's new policy, officials at NASA expressed approval that they would remain in control of civilian space operations, but they were not happy that Reagan failed to commit the U.S. to any new civilian programs. Since NASA's role in the military space program is limited to getting the satellite into space, NASA may wind up running nothing more than a bus service for Spacecom.

This would be consistent with the recent trend in funding for the space program. Initially, the entire program

## MRS. WEBER'S DIARY





was under civilian control, as preferred by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, but gradually the Pentagon got its foot in the door. NASA used to get the bulk of the funding for its civilian operations, but following approval of the space shuttle in 1972 by President Richard M. Nixon, the Pentagon's share of the space budget grew to nearly half.

This trend continued until in the Fiscal Year 1982 Reagan budget, the Pentagon for the first time passed NASA, receiving \$6.4 billion to NASA's \$5.5 billion. Similarly for FY 1983, Reagan requested \$8.5 billion for Pentagon space activity and only \$6.1 billion for NASA. In addition, another \$4 billion is spent annually by the National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, and Central Intelligence Agency for military space programs.

The Air Force set up in 1981 a Defense Operations Committee headed by the Secretary of the Air Force to oversee this space budget. Then on September 1, 1983, the Air Force created a Spacecom at Peterson AFB in Colorado, under the command of Air Force General James V. Hartinger. "In general," said Hartinger, "the command will provide the operational pull to go with the technology push which has been the dominant factor in the space world since its inception."

The operational pull was given a further tug when Reagan spoke to the nation on March 23, 1983. The president called for development by the end of the century of an ABM system in orbit. An international treaty banning such weapons was won by the peace movement in 1972. Despite this, an orbiting ABM system has now become the long-range goal of Reagan's revved up planning for space war.

Chris Robinson is editor of *Recon*.

## CHARLES MCDOWELL

On the desk beside me is a review copy of Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, which has picked up 11,000 new words since the Eighth Edition was published a decade ago.

New words in the written language—just talk doesn't count—tell us a good deal about our experience in recent times. Here are some examples of what we have been going through: *parenting*, *palimony*, *open marriage*, *genetic engineering*, *biorhythm*, *heavy metal*, *high tech*, *nouvelle cuisine*, *petrodollars*, *supply-side*, *trickle down*, *up-scale* and all that.

You know, it's been a period of *condos*, *house husbands*, *hot tubs*, *pay-cables*, *pig outs*, *wackos*, *Moonies*, *solar panels*, *floppy discs*, *microchips* and *megabytes*. In other words, a period of *humongous* change.

The new dictionary came with a press release describing some of the features that make Merriam-Webster Inc. proud. For example, many of the entries show the date when a word in a given sense entered the written language. Thus we learn, for example, that *finalize* was acknowledged in 1922 and that *energize* goes back to 1752.

"This unique feature adds enormously to the reference value of the work, and for many people will make the dictionary browsable for the first time," according to a press release from Dr. Frederick C. Mish, editor-in-chief of the Ninth Edition.

Yes, *browsable*.

It was a first for me, and I hastened to look it up in the dictionary. Dr. Mish's word was not there. *Browse* was there in the noun and verb forms relating to grazing animals. And the entry went on to account for Dr. Mish's sense of *browse*: "to skim through a book reading at random passages that catch the eye."

But not *browsable*.

I doubt that Dr. Mish can be charged with an error in using a word that is not in his dictionary. After all, this is how a word makes it into the dictionary. It gets used in a substantial publication, and then the editors of dictionaries examine it for handiness in communication, and maybe the word is deemed worthy. I would think the use in print by the editor in chief of Webster's

## FREEZE FENCE-SITTERS

As we went to press, the following senators were uncommitted on the nuclear freeze issue. The Nuclear Freeze Resolution was slated to come before the Senate after the July recess.

COLORADO - William L. Armstrong  
DELAWARE - William V. Roth Jr.  
FLORIDA - Lawton Chiles  
ILLINOIS - Charles H. Percy  
ILLINOIS - Alan J. Dixon  
IOWA - Charles E. Grassley  
KANSAS - Robert Dole  
KANSAS - Nancy Landon Kassebaum  
KENTUCKY - Wendell H. Ford  
MARYLAND - Charles Mc C. Mathias Jr.  
MINNESOTA - Rudy Boschwitz  
MINNESOTA - David Durenberger  
MISSOURI - John Danforth  
NEBRASKA - James J. Exon

NEBRASKA - Edward Zorinsky  
NEW HAMPSHIRE - Warren Rudman  
NEW YORK - Alfonse M. D'Amato  
NORTH DAKOTA - Mark Andrews  
OKLAHOMA - David L. Boren  
OREGON - Bob Packwood  
PENNSYLVANIA - John Heinz  
PENNSYLVANIA - Arlen Specter  
SOUTH DAKOTA - Larry Pressler  
TENNESSEE - James R. Sasser  
TEXAS - Lloyd Bentsen  
WEST VIRGINIA - Jennings Randolph  
WISCONSIN - Robert W. Kasten Jr.

Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary would go a long way toward qualifying *browsable* for Webster's 10th.

It is possible that Dr. Mish was playing a game with *browsable*, trying to draw in newspaper columnists and other word snobs, and have a little fun (and publicity for the new dictionary). Dictionary editors these days are not word snobs, you know. They tend to be more tolerant than many of us in acknowledging words that have come into use in the language. They seem amused when we are scandalized by the words they list.

Take *hopefully*. The new dictionary gives two meanings: (1) in a hopeful manner, and (2) it is hoped. For those of us who thought the second usage was a dreadful thing, there is a note as follows:

"Only the irrationally large amount of critical fire drawn by sense 2 of *hopefully* requires its particular recognition in a dictionary. Similar use of other adverbs (as *interestingly*, *presumably*, *fortunately*) as sentence modifiers is so commonplace as to excite no notice whatever. While it still arouses occasional objection, *hopefully* as a sentence modifier has been in use since 1932 and is well established as standard."

Or consider *finalize*, if you can stand it. Webster's Ninth says the Navy brought it home from Australia in the 1920s; it was seized upon by government and business; it is "a standard formation"; it usually is not found "in belles-lettres."

See how they are laughing a little at us. Oh, well. There are other crises, even humiliations, to be endured in this dictionary. For instance, *uninterested* and *disinterested* turn out to be interchangeable. My notion was that the first meant something like "not inclined to pay attention" and the second meant "unbiased," and to mix them up was a vulgar outrage. Now I learn that the original meanings were the reverse, and my notion is pettifoggery.

The new dictionary is full of humongous shocks like that. *Humongous*, by the way, is dated 1973 but is still marked slang.

Richmond Times Dispatch

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:** The Washington Post reported last month that a Labor Department study, never published, had found that affirmative action programs required of businesses doing substantial federally-contracted work, had substantially increased minority employment. The study covered 77,000 businesses between 1974 and 1980 and reported that minority employment among federal contractors increased 20% while at other firms it had gone up only 12%. The employment of women increased 15.2% among federal contractors vs. 2.2% elsewhere. Black officials and managers increased 93% among contractors, 50% elsewhere. The number of women officials and managers rose 73% among contractors vs. 36% elsewhere.

We have to redefine the language --there's a public sector, which should do its share, there's a private sector which should do its share, but there's a third sector -- the community sector -- that is not owned by mayors or by Chase Manhattan, but made up of people who care about their neighborhoods. That third sector is the largest sector of them all. If neighborhoods die, cities die. Neighborhoods are building blocks to cities." -- Gino Baroni

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# CHUCK STONE

## Jackson's push

My father was one of two blacks in his Springfield College junior year.

One evening, while he was shining his shoes, a group of classmates dropped by his room and activated a "bull session" about race relations.

"Charlie," a sandy-haired student from Tennessee asked in teeth-gritting exasperation, "what *do* the Negroes want?"

My soft-spoken father never looked up as the shoe brush swished back and forth across his shoe. "What have you got?" he shrugged.

Well, for starters, the United States' presidency.

In 1923, delusions of grandeur. In 1983, a remote, but discussable possibility.

"A black presidential candidate? The time isn't ripe,"

approvingly clucked a May 18 Dallas Morning News headline over a column by John E. Jacob, National Urban League president.

"It is an idea whose time has not yet come," wrote Jacob in a soft-shoe shuffle to set most of his corporate givers' minds at ease.

"I don't think it [a black candidate for president] can be a viable option for the Democratic Party at this time," said W. Wilson Goode, Democratic nominee for mayor, the day after his primary victory.

Of course, the time is "never ripe" for any ethnic group's first-time candidacy as a "viable option."

In 1960, many Americans whispered that the time was "not ripe" for a Catholic president. Only John F. Kennedy's audacious faith in the American dream proved otherwise.

In 1955, many Connecticut voters openly declared that a Jewish governor of this staunchly Yankee state was "an idea whose time had not yet come."

A talented lawyer, Abe Ribicoff, refused to surrender his vision. He was elected and distinguished himself in public service.

In 1983, the issue is not "a black" for president.

I can think of a muster of peacocks and a rafter of am-

bitious black turkeys whose candidacies would provoke belly-doubling laughter.

Is there a creative, intelligent and nationally respected black statesman whose candidacy would add luster to the political dialogue?

The Rev. Jesse Jackson could.

In a national poll last year on the 10 most admired Americans, Jackson placed 10th.

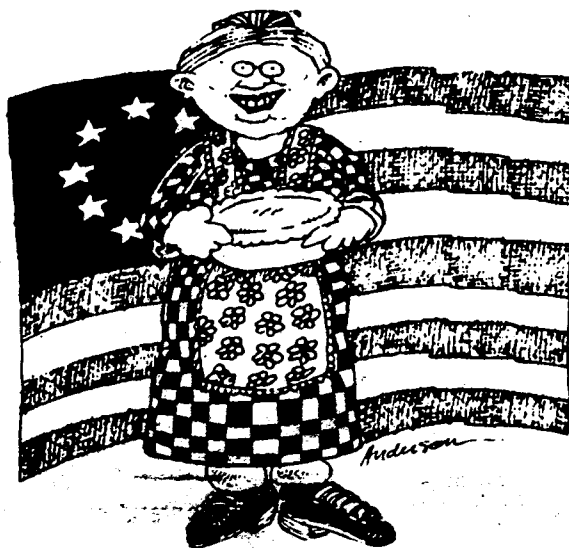
In a more recent national poll of Democratic president preferences, Jackson garnered 5 percent, more than several announced candidates.

Challenges such as his to tradition are as American as the NBA finals.

In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt's breakaway Bull Moose party split the Republican Party and siphoned off 4.2 million votes to cause William Howard Taft's defeat and elect Woodrow Wilson. America survived.

Norman Thomas' Socialist third-party candidacy in 1932 provided an outlet for many Americans who were inspired by his scintillating discussion of ideals.

In 1948, Harry Truman pulled off one of the century's political miracles by defeating the GOP and the third-party Dixiecrats of Strom Thurmond and the fourth-party Progressives of Henry Wallace.



## Apple Pie

At a new Los Angeles supermarket you phone in your order, drive by three hours later and pick it up.

According to Phone-in Drive Through Market president Ron Cameron, average pick-up time is only five minutes, compared with nearly half an hour normally spent in a store.

All 225 graduates of a Minneapolis high school received diplomas with their new alma mater identified as "North Community High School." The principal says they'll all get replacements.

The latest crime on the books is dial-tone stealing. The idea is to wander around a neighborhood with a portable phone until a base station with a compatible frequency is found. Then the tone-stealer can phone anywhere at the victim's expense.

The device can also be used to eavesdrop. Cordless phone manufacturers want the FCC to permit them to add a privacy code to their phones.

Mosquitos hate the smell of garlic, so all you have to do to keep the bugs away is to eat alot of it. This according to University of Massachusetts entomologist John Edman.

A group of Nashville businessmen has formed a private corporation to run prisons for profit. For a fee and some healthy tax breaks, the Corrections Coporation of America will contract with local, state and federal governments to maintain, operate, and in some cases build prisons. "We're on the cutting edge of a new industry," says coporation president Tom Beasley. The group hopes to have a minimum security prison operating this fall, and plans to take over management of at least two others next year.

America's highways are safer than they have ever been. The only problem is, no one seems to know why. The National Safety Council says that motor vehicle deaths dropped by an astounding 11 percent last year, and that your chances of dying in an auto accident now stand at one in 60, the lowest in history. There are several theories why this is happening, but most don't hold up. The economy, for instance, doesn't seem to have had an effect, since people actually drove *more* last year than the year before. Tougher drunk driving laws could be a factor, but most experts doubt it would have been that great. What's even more puzzling is that some people were predicting traffic fatalities would go way up in '82—as high as 70,000—because more people were driving smaller cars.

By the way, if you are planning a road trip this summer, you're better off in crowded New England than the wide open spaces of the west. The Safety Council says Rhode Island is the safest state to drive in, while the most dangerous is Wyoming.

The Fruitarian Network, a committee of the American Vegetarians, is crusading against cutting the grass. Fruitarian Nellie Shriver says "plants have feelings... and you can't mow a lawn without destroying plants and insects." Leave the lawns alone, say the fruitarians, and save fuel and protect the water table. What's more, an uncut lawn can eventually become a meadow or wildlife habitat.

A household robot has until now been considered a plaything for the rich. But Miami's Burdine's Department Store is about to offer one for under \$500. It's called "Topo," and it runs by remote control or through a built-in keyboard, can pull lightweight items in a wagon and has its own voice. Burdine's publicity director, Jane Zager, calls Topo "the product of the future—the first available robot in its price range." A more sophisticated model called "Bob"—for "Brains on Board"—will debut this summer. Bob doesn't require any external programs, and can move around objects without bumping into them, seek out human beings and even tell jokes. Bob will sell for around \$1300 and Macy's is reportedly interested. Top of the line, retailing for around \$8000, is "Genus" from Robotics International. This little baby will guard your house, vacuum the rugs, greet guests and serve drinks.

Scrabble players now have the ultimate in word authorities—The Oxford English Dictionary Hot Line. The "Oxford Word and Language Service" can be reached in England, (at 0865-56767) where operators will answer your questions about definitions or pronunciations. Besides the cost of the phone call the service is free for everyone... except lawyers.

In August, foreign students at U.S. colleges will have four years to complete their work, or else be forced to leave. And they'll have to wait for two years before they can hit the American books again. The Immigration Service wants to deter students who never intend to go home at all.



Was the "time ripe" for those spinoffs from two-party government?

In 1968, George C. Wallace catapulted into national respectability with his third-party candidacy by winning 9.9 million votes and 46 electoral votes.

What tenet of democracy conferred the right to run for president on a white segregationist in 1968, but abrogates that same right of a black integrationist only 15 years later?

Are there compelling reasons that differentiate the Rev. Jesse Jackson's smoldering presidential candidacy from those Americans who preceded him in political history?

Whether or not Jesse Jackson's time has come, I fervently hope he runs.

And I may not even vote for him.

But he will bring the same measure of dignity and thoughtfulness as those believers in the American dream who dared to walk to a different drummer.

Phila. Daily News

It seems to me that our most urgent goal is to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function. It was the lack of an effective system of collective security through the League of Nations that, among other factors, led to the Second World War. Although we now face a vastly changed world situation, Governments in fact need more than ever a workable system of collective security in which they can have real confidence. Without such a system, Governments will feel it necessary to arm themselves beyond their means for their own security, thereby increasing the general insecurity. Without such a system, the world community will remain powerless to deal with military adventures which threaten the very fabric of international peace, and the danger of the widening and escalation of local conflicts will be correspondingly greater. Without such a system there will be no reliable defence or shelter for the small and weak. And without such a system all of our efforts on the economic and social side, which also need their own collective impetus, may well falter. --Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary-General

## THE PRESS

Bob Alperin

A brilliant *Washington Post* article related Syria's reluctance to leave Lebanon to a concern for water. The article differed from typical US-media Middle East coverage in at least two significant ways.

It recognized the concerns of an Arab state. News and commentary focus almost entirely on US and Israeli interests. What regular contributors to US major media regularly analyse Arab states in terms of legitimate national concerns? A related problem is the failure to portray Palestinians beyond the roles of massacre victims, terrorists, or rival PIO-faction members.

In viewing Syria as a country with its own interests, the article implicitly rejected the popular US media-politician view of it as a Soviet surrogate, its policies determined by their master's desire to test weapons or make trouble. Even Israeli radio commentators dismiss such hypotheses. Gen. Ehud Barak, head of Israeli Army intelligence, found Syria's opposition to the peace treaty with Lebanon a matter of principle and said genuine Syrian interests were involved.

For months US media have reported, mostly uncritically, US demands for Israel to sign a treaty and leave Lebanon. Serious questions regarding Lebanese ability to govern went unasked; as did the related questions: who will prevent a renewal on intra-Lebanese killing on a grand scale, or the further murder of Palestinians by Phalangists? (The media show no interest in demanding a Lebanese accounting of last year's Beirut massacres.) If Israel, Syria, and the PLO withdraw, it seems very possible the multi-national force will have to take more responsibility—and casualties—if communal violence is to be averted.

The *Post* long continued to ignore, or place deep into other stories, news of Israeli dead and wounded in Lebanon, thus leaving readers unprepared for the increasing Israeli interest in a partial pullback.

• In May, Israeli Deputy Attorney-General Yedudit Karp, who chaired a Justice Ministry committee investigating anti-Arab vigilantes, resigned because its recommendations had been ignored for over a year. This provoked vigorous discussion and a Knesset debate. Informative accounts were on Israel Radio's North American broadcasts, and in the *Miami Herald*, *Los Angeles Times* and *Boston Globe*. The *Post* had nothing.

The committee's yet secret report wanted strict measures against those who shoot, kidnap, beat, or bomb Arabs, or damage their property. The acts are said to be done by few, "generally well-known" settlers. The report named and condemned politicians who intervened to protect arrested suspects. Law enforcement sources said the report listed dozens of cases in which there were no arrests although the police had suspects. Sometimes no one was even questioned. As the debate unfolded about 60 Arab cars had their tires slashed and windshields broken. There were no arrests.

The *Post* also ignored:

• Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan's idea that the USSR be brought into the negotiations over Lebanon.

• The State Dept.'s statement that Israel's use of US arms in Lebanon "may have" violated US law requiring defensive use of the weapons, but that there would be no action (wires, *Herald*).

• A new poll showed Labor leading Begin's Likud 49 seats to 45. Another poll found Likud ahead, but a 53-49 labor lead if Navon rather than Peres were its leader. The *Herald's* poll story came the day before a front-page *Post* one on the sad state of Israel's Labor Party. Nowhere in its 61" were the polls mentioned. Over 43" into the story it revealed reasons Sephardic Jews voted for Begin—under Labor they had poor experiences in jobs and housing.

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• Apart from noting the absence of provisions for the black majority, the *Post's* limited coverage of the proposed South African constitution was virtually useless. Beyond the point that it cut the AP story there was much detail about the strong powers of the president and other matters.

The bill, assailed by Conservatives as abandoning white control, was introduced a few days before hotly-contested by-elections, yet the Minister refused to deny foes' charge that it was a step towards black majority rule, saying "I cannot judge the future" (*Phila. Inquirer*). This echoed a major Afrikaans paper, *Die Vaderland*, which said power sharing with Coloreds and Indians "started a process of which the end cannot be predicted."

• Neither of the two *Post* election articles mentioned the bitter constitution debates. The pre-election piece was mostly speculation with candidate campaign themes ignored. There was mention of a non-existent party. A *Globe* story told of Prime Minister Botha asking voters for attitude changes as he and other leaders stressed the need to bring Coloreds and Asians into the government. He raised the issue of laws banning mixed marriage, denying that "the Bible teaches that mixed marriage is sinful" (*The Star-Johannesburg*).

Items not in the *Post* included:

• Both Chicago mayoral candidates promised to withdraw city funds from banks selling SA's Krugers. Two major banks, First Chicago and Continental Illinois, said they'd stop sales (*SA Digest*, a government weekly).

• The Medical Association of SA examined medical care of prisoners and detainees and found cases of "serious maltreatment." Despite improvements there were "insufficient safeguards." Indefinite detention and interrogation can do permanent physical and mental damage, and the information obtained often lacks "all reliability" (*Globe*).

• A lieutenant in the SA Defence Force defected to Mozambique to show that some whites in the SADF opposed apartheid (*UPI-Inquirer*).

• The Pretoria City Council reversed a 1974 decision opening parks to all. Now 14 were to be for whites only. The city has several hundred parks. The Johannesburg Council asked the government to desegregate the central business district, allowing all races full rights for business and commerce. They want to reverse the trend to suburban shopping centers (*Globe*).

• *Post* coverage of the Rizzo-Goode primary noted but one exit poll item—candidate image (very negative and very positive, respectively). The *Inquirer* ran image last, allowing the voters to write the story. Jobs, the main issue for 59%, was the story's main focus. It was the

concern regardless of how they voted, race, income, age, etc. Other major findings: 46% said: don't cut services more, we'll pay more taxes, while 57% said they'd pay more for better quality schools.

A 16" *Post* follow-up on exit polls noted Goode did better in them than in the voting. People were viewed as unwilling to say they voted for a white against a black. When the same thing happened to Bradley in California an alternative explanation was given: exit polls under-represented conservatives who were less willing to answer.

• The *Inquirer* had excellent coverage of the organizations' election day activities, and of the use of "street money" which paid volunteers to build organizations, not buy votes.

• The *Globe* reported 59% of Rizzo voters said they will vote Republican in the general election. A columnist noted a theme of Goode's campaign was not to believe the polls showing his big lead: "...Black voters remained in long lines to cast ballots two hours after television projected a Goode landslide."

• The *Post* had elaborate coverage of the Holocaust survivors' Washington meeting. A book resulted. Full pages advertised it. In contrast the paper ignored area

## CLASSIFIEDS

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Armenians remembering the genocide committed against them by the Turks during World War I. Turkey denies all charges. The *Globe* had almost a page-long interview with an Armenian survivor, and the *Hartford Courant* had over a page telling the stories of several families. CBS-TV had a segment on the topic.

- Also ignored by the *Post* was a Dept. of State *Bulletin* article which referred to "alleged" genocide with a footnote saying that history is ambiguous and State didn't endorse the allegations. After protest, State said the article didn't "necessarily reflect" its view, but only the author's. In 1981 Reagan spoke of "the genocide of the Armenian people." State wouldn't tell the *Courant* or a congressional group what had changed or what current policy was. Armenians wonder if Turkey's NATO role precludes the US from admitting the genocide occurred. (The *Inquirer* also carried the story.)

- Frustrated by total Turkish denial, a few Armenian groups assassinate Turkish diplomats. *Le Monde* asked tough action against violence but also urged the western democracies to pressure Turkey to set the record straight.

- Also not in the *Post*: Amnesty International asks the US to ratify the U.N. treaty against genocide (UPI-*Inquirer*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*).

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- A thoughtful *Post* analysis of the new Australian Labor government's foreign policy focused solely on areas of possible disagreement with its neighbors. It ignored the issue of French nuclear tests in the Pacific, which both Australia and New Zealand have protested. The former wants to have the area's nations declare a nuclear-free zone while France insists it will never halt the tests. (Agence France Presse-Arab News).

Items not in the *Post* included:

- A British Foreign Office Minister visits Moscow, the first such high level meeting since Thatcher's election. It followed UK's expulsion of Soviet diplomats as spies (BBC, AP-Arab News).

- The main world non-Communist union confederation (ICFTU) is outraged by Turkey's new labor law which makes collective bargaining and independent trade unions "practically non-existent" (Reuter-Arab News).

- A study using census data found Chicago had the most housing segregation among the 28 cities with the largest black population (AP-*Courant*). (This came out while the *Post*'s Chicago watch continued.)

- A West German-built destroyer with the most advanced naval technology and armed with eight French-made Exocet missiles joined the Argentine Navy (UPI-*Hartford Courant*).

- Over 6,000 Los Angeles high schoolers had to leave sports because of an "F" or a below "C" average (UPI-*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*).

- USA TODAY's Philadelphia vending boxes faced vandalism apparently related to their use of non-union, part-time drivers (*Inquirer*). One wonders if they follow that labor practice elsewhere?

- In San Marino the Communist-dominated coalition was re-elected for five more years. The 23 sq. mi. republic, founded in 301 and surrounded by Italy, has less unemployment (3% to 10%) and less inflation than its neighbor (AP-*Inquirer*).

- An exception to Socialist France's austerity program: a five-year \$113 billion military budget, an 11% increase after inflation. There will be a cut in ground forces and more emphasis on nuclear weapons (AP-*Herald*).

- Papers written and collected by the Manhattan Project's medical adviser were found in a UCLA library basement. Made public at a House Veterans' Affairs hearing on fallout exposure to US servicemen during nuclear tests, they reported that ship commanders were disdainful of safety officials and of radiation hazards. One paper on a 1946 test series reported "contamination of personnel, clothing, hands and even food can be demonstrated readily in every ship, in increasing amounts day by day." (AP-*Globe*). The *Inquirer* had about a page on the papers and one vet's health problems.

- The Nuclear Regulatory Commission staff, abandoning their past position, said they no longer vouched for the integrity and ability of the owner and operator of the Three Mile Island nuclear plants (*Inquirer*).

- The NRC staff concluded that cooling system records were falsified at TMI in the months prior to the accident (*Inquirer*; AP-*Atlantic City Press*; UPI-*Globe*, *Courant*; USA TODAY).

- The NRC asked a \$40,000 fine, charging Vermont's only nuclear plant with violating its own procedures while down for maintenance. Last year they had a similar fine for failing to evaluate water-level fluctuations that set off the emergency cooling system (UPI-*Courant*).

- The NRC ordered 20 plants to safety test 159 cooling system pumps after four former employees of their manufacturer charged that the company ignored some of its own quality control procedures (wire & staff, *Press*).

- After the twin failures of automatic shutdown systems at a Salem, NJ plant, the NRC did an industry-wide survey and found a common inability to assess why shutdowns occurred, and how safety equipment performed during them. Only Duke Power's Seneca, SC, plant had a "top management safety philosophy" down to the level of "post-shutdown reviews." There, "the operational philosophy exhibits the intuitively questioning attitude that NRC encourages in its licensees" (AP-*Press*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*).

- A month before the Salem safety system failures NRC inspectors pointed out the problems which later caused the failures, and independent industry experts hit the plant's overall maintenance (*Inquirer*).

- After ignoring the six above stories, all critical of management, the *Post* ran a NRC warning against employee sabotage (11 incidents in three years), even moving it from page two to the Final edition's front page.

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- US media speculated on the fate of Soviet leader Andropov's alleged main rival, Chernenko. The party daily *Pravda* praised his new book, stressing his ideological role (AP-*Globe*). The *Post* ignored that, but ran a 34"

page one story "Soviet Union Swamped by 800 Billion Documents" plus 24.5" on a dismissed Moscow radio announcer.

- Anti-Communist Afghans use Pakistan for headquarters and to obtain weapons, freely crossing the border to fight Afghan and Soviet troops. Seemingly secret from *Post* readers, the Soviets are taking action in Pakistan. A \$2 billion steel mill complex built with Soviet aid opened there in March (*Washington Times*). They're expected to finance and construct eight new steel and energy projects (*Financial Times*).

- A 36" *Post* analysis of the conflict in the Polish Communist party didn't mention any of the measures Gen. Jaruzelski's taken against hardliners. He dissolved the "reality clubs," the "main outlet for hardline communist sentiment" and made changes at top radio-tv levels (*The Times*, London). By February, 70 former top officials had been convicted, mostly of corruption. Over 50 received at least two years in jail and the others took "extremely stiff fines" (*The Times*). Still pending were cases against 173 former senior officials and nearly 200 subordinates. While ignoring the trials and jailings of hardliners, the *Post* often reports, frequently prominently, the questioning of Solidarity members.

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The State Dept. argues that the Soviets use pollens to spread toxins, "yellow rain," with aerial spraying delivering 10-20 micron particles, the size needed for deep lung penetration. But pollens carry fungi naturally as a 1927 *Philippine Journal of Science* article reported. Aerial crop sprayers need 200 micron particles to hit target plants. Smaller ones are carried off by the winds. These are among the points in the March 27 (Manchester) *Guardian* weekly.

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The *Post* had 27" on page one and 28" inside on charges that Salvadorean guerrillas had executed 18 soldiers who had surrendered in Cinquera. The next day the *Globe* (UPI) reported local civilians discounted the execution claims, saying the men died in battle. The army reported that 18 men, thought to have been killed in the Cinquera combat, had been taken prisoner and released. The *Post* printed none of this, even though it was then widely-publicizing that the rebels were abandoning their practice of releasing captured troops. Three days later a tiny *Post* item reported that the guerrillas denied committing any massacres. The *Inquirer* reported, incidentally, that the Salvadorean army doesn't have any prison camps.

Among a multitude of *Post* missed stories were:

- May 27 Reagan refused to comment on whether he might have to send US combat troops to Central America. Previously he made clear denials (*Herald*).

- Salvadorean government and military sources say US officers are making the decisions about the war's conduct. Giving direct advice in combat seems contrary to US policy guidelines against direct involvement (*Inquirer-Courant*).

- At least twice, then-Assst. Sec. of St. Enders promised the US would not have a dialogue with Cuba. They'd see "negotiations as a sign of weakness" (*Herald*).

- "How long must we withhold this information from the mother?" The film "Missing" eerily hovered over Ben Bradlee's Mar. 6 *Globe* account of a mother's effort to learn what happened to her son who was visiting El Salvador. The quote is from a US consular cable and refers to the discrepancy between the Salvadorean army version (shot at a distance as he ran) and autopsy findings (shot up close).

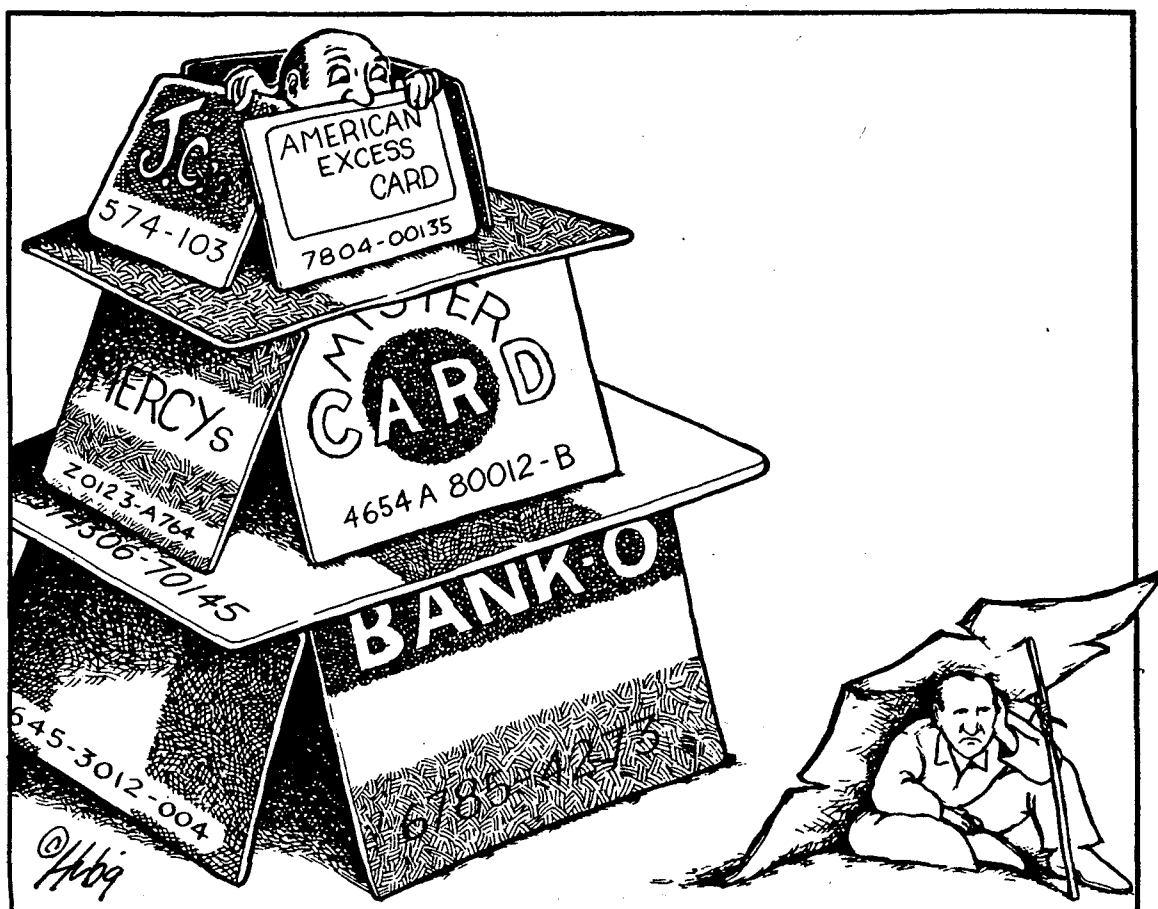
- Two men, dumped in a garbage heap for dead by Salvadorean soldiers, survived to separately tell their tales. Survivors are rare, The *Herald*, *Globe* and AP (*Press*) carried the interviews. *Americas Watch* did a 27 pp. report to counter Reagan's claim that Salvadorean repression was down (AP *Press*). An ex-guardsmen, charged in the murders of four US churchwomen, testified they'd been raped (UPI-*Inquirer*). A *Globe* story based on prisoner statements gave a sort of checklist of tortures routinely used in Salvadorean political arrests.

- The idea of a US special envoy to Central America was "offensive and humiliating" to the Salvadorean Chamber of Commerce (UPI, *Press*), and reminded Guatemala's army chief of the "proconsuls of the ancient Roman epoch" (*Globe*).

- *Post* "Nicaragua says Reagan has Declared 'War on It'" and *Inquirer* "Nicaragua asks talks with U.S." reported the same UN speech. The *Post* never did reveal that Nicaragua wanted to discuss differences with the US.

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Stories about universities, pressed for funds, cutting academic programs are hardly rare. But take the strange case of Temple U. They are starting a Caribbean studies program, and have dismissed 18 administrators. There are rumors that as many as 100 may be laid off in the near future (*Inquirer*).





# PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION: THE GREENS & THE SANDERISTAS

Greg Guma

**“W**arning,” shouted the headline of the full-page ad in Burlington’s daily newspaper just days before the most watched—and most expensive—elections in city history. Concocted by Bernard Sanders’ Republican opponent, the ad listed a series of dire consequences if Burlington’s mayor won a second term, and concluded: “Mayor Sanders is an avowed Socialist. Socialist principles have not worked anywhere in the world. . . they won’t in Burlington either.”

It was a desperate move, suggesting that Sanders’ administration would lead to everything from higher electric bills to more unemployment (the latter a not-too-subtle hint that capital might flee the Queen City). And as it worked out, such veiled red-baiting was one of many tactical mistakes by opponents of Sanders and his allies. Since voters had seen the progressives in action for two years, they rebelled against hysterical negativity and the related charge by Sanders’ Democratic opponent that he was “too confrontational.” On March 1, 1983, Mayor Bernie received over 52% of the vote and two of his Citizens Party allies won over Democrats, one of them a former state senator.

Leading up to the national elections in West Germany on March 6, similar tactics were attempted to keep the eco-radical Green Party out the *Bundestag*—with similar results. Christian Democrats and even some Social Democrats warned that the presence of the Greens in the national legislature would make the country “ungovernable.” But the attacks merely solidified support for the new party among disaffected members of Germany’s alternative culture, keeping the radical-conservative Greens in the spotlight.

The victories of radicals in Burlington and Bonn illustrate the potential of principled opposition. And in both cases, electoral engagement has moved the struggle to a new stage: learning to exert limited power within governmental structures designed to reinforce capitalist relations.

With 27 seats (5.6%) in the *Bundestag*, the Greens will remain in the foreseeable future a small non-aligned group in a body dominated by the pro-nuclear, rightist Christian Democrats. They will attempt to promote open government, tolerance of new forms of conviviality, and a new, life-oriented political culture, while expressing fundamental opposition not only to nuclear missiles and power but also to the profit and growth-orientation of the two big parties.

In Burlington, a progressive coalition outside the two party system has been firmly established, and yet even Sanders’ overwhelming win and the establishment of five seats on the 13 member aldermanic council is not enough to assure that even limited reforms will be accepted by a “Republican” alliance. The city is divided into enclaves—Citizens and “Sanderistas” in the low income wards, Republicans on University Hill and in the suburbs, Democrats in the middle class south end.

## The ‘Bernie Machine’

**S**anders’ victory is clearly an endorsement of his hard work and unusual blend of radical and traditionally conservative positions in a pragmatic populism. But the fierce loyalty to “Bernie” rather than any clear program runs the risk of creating a permanent campaign, a personality-oriented machine geared towards furthering itself, rather than building a coherent movement.

In contrast, the Greens lack the influence of the

Sanders organization—even in local legislatures. But their opposition status allows them more easily to remain a “party within movements,” as committed to mass action as legislative negotiation. Since they have no administrative responsibility, they can more frequently criticize and focus on a radical alternative. However, the Greens have barely begun to grapple with the question of how they would actually implement their theories.

Both realignments have some revolutionary potential. Both were sparked by the intransigence of political establishments and largely made possible by the efforts of people younger than 35. In Sanders’ case, young professionals, organizers and academics created the organization but were supported by labor unions, the elderly and low income people. The development of the Greens and the Sanderistas show both the promise and risks of linking grassroots organizing and electoral campaigns in order to bring class issues, corporate power and participatory democracy into the center of public debate. The developments in both Germany and Vermont, disparate as they are, may promote the critical consciousness necessary to produce lasting change. In fact, they may be harbingers of possibilities and challenges facing activists in the remainder of the 1980s.

## Revolt at the Polls

**T**ucked between New York, New Hampshire and Canada, Vermont is a tiny state of 500,000 inhabitants. Except in a few “urban” areas such as Burlington (population 40,000), it has been dominated by Republicans—mainly moderates—for more than 100 years. Its Democrats range from clannish conservatives to “New Frontier” liberals.

The Democrats who ran Burlington for several decades prior to 1981 were mainly an Irish-French Canadian clique that ignored the changing nature of the city. They welcomed rapid development, urban renewal and gentrification, and turned their backs on problems like high rents. As a result, a loose political opposition developed outside the party system.

A small yet credible “third party” called Liberty Union waged a series of statewide campaigns, running radical candidates like Bernie Sanders through most of the 70s. Although these spokespersons generally garnered less than 10% of the vote, their presence legitimized an anti-corporate stance and electoral work as an organizing tool.

In a close race, we learned, the presence of a radical candidate could determine the outcome. Even when the outcome was not in doubt, however, an effective campaigner could force ideology into debates and win equal time. A Liberty Union candidate sometimes won labor union backing, and in 1980, when Citizens Party Congressional candidate Robin Lloyd faced an incumbent Republican without a Democrat in the race, peace issues received a hearing, especially the need for a nuclear weapons freeze.

Although Lloyd won only 13%—26,000—of the statewide vote, the showing was considered impressive; in Burlington she gained 25%. This showing indicated that the political opposition, which had been concentrating on housing and peace activities, might be able to do more than “raise issues.”

The Citizens Party had begun to build a local organization, yet the major impetus for a mayoral bid in March 1981 came from independent activists who did not believe that an alternative party could win.

Excerpted from WIN Magazine  
326 Livingston Brooklyn NY 11217

They knitted a number of issues—waterfront development, unresponsive officials, unnecessary road building—into a campaign to oust the entrenched Democratic incumbent. No Republican entered the race, and Sanders won by 10 votes. In the same election, a Citizens Party candidate for alderman also defeated a Democrat, and a nuclear weapons freeze referendum passed. In subsequent campaigns, referenda on peace continued to mobilize people who might not otherwise have come to the polls, as well as providing the opportunity for further education about the arms race.

The 1981 campaign was extremely inexpensive: Sanders spent about \$4000 and relied on volunteers. Two years later his re-election campaign cost almost \$30,000 and required the hiring of full-time staff.

Many neighborhood and community-based groups had organized themselves in response to local crises prior to the first victory for the progressives. Once Sanders and company entered City Hall, they drew many activists into mayoral task forces and councils focusing on youth, elderly, housing, women, and the arts, among other issues. The resulting programs were often successful and practical, but this re-channeling of local activism left neighborhood groups with little to do. Within a year most of them had disbanded.

#### New Alliances

**M**eanwhile, unwillingness to compromise on the part of "Republicrats" fueled another type of organizing: alliance with liberals on the basis of specific initiatives. Non-partisan pressure could sometimes win what principled argument could not.

Negotiating within the government, even at the local level, calls for very different tactics and skills than opposing (or proposing) from outside. First, the "new guard" must demonstrate basic competence: Can radicals keep the streets in shape and the property taxes down? Second, speaking to the general public when they are actually prepared to listen calls for more specifics than rhetoric. People rightly demand to know how concentrated wealth and the arms race relate to their day-to-day lives.

The Burlington situation presented another special challenge: how to prevent a personality cult from shortcircuiting the growth of a permanent movement. As a socialist mayor, Bernie Sanders became an instant national celebrity. His every utterance was quoted and dissected. This provided him with the personal opportunity to present his philosophy and agenda, and to attract many valuable supporters to his administration—even if the "Republicrats" would not approve his nominees for key posts and commissions. But a tendency developed to allow the mayor to set the pace for the progressive movement, even though he held himself apart from it. Clearly, his loyalties were to unions, working people and the poor, but he expressed them as he saw fit.

Power began to flow from the mayor's office rather than to it. When he occasionally took a stand that was not supported by progressives—such as his impulsive backing of a large wood-chip plant criticized by environmentalists, or his decision to prematurely dismantle an art exhibit on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that some found offensive—criticism was rare. Progressives privately expressed gripes, but opposition to Sanders was viewed as disloyal. Increasingly, the mayor became the arbiter of what was progressive.

Fortunately, aldermanic elections in 1982 required continued organizing and evaluation of strategy. Unity was the highest priority in order to maximize the chances of winning more council seats. As it turned out, winning three more seats in addition to the Independent and Citizens seats gained in 1981 gave Sanders veto power but left the progressives in the position of having to negotiate with Democrats on most issues.

The real victory was the surge in voter participation, as a result of a voter registration drive—opposed by the "old guard"—and the intensive focus on local politics by the media. This surge was also beginning, in a slightly different way, across the state, where the visibility of the peace movement and formation of an informal freeze network began to bring nuclear issues to the proverbial village square—in this case to Town Meetings. The 177 local town votes for the nuclear freeze in 1982 empowered Vermonters and the victory was felt far beyond the borders of Vermont. But the main benefit was the revival of participatory democracy, which has continued in 1983 with over 100 more local votes on issues ranging from El Salvador aid to crisis relocation.

*We would lose our supporters if we changed. We don't want to rule, we want to change this whole society.*

—Lucas Lucasik  
Green Party local organizer

**P**roportional representation in the West German government can allow a minority group to exert significant influence on national policy. It is quite a different dynamic than the American "winner take all" approach. Roland Vogt, former party chairperson, notes one reason why the Greens are not eager to form a coalition with the Social Democrats: "As the weaker partner, I wouldn't propose marriage—we would be sold out. We are young and we don't want to be swallowed." Instead, they are developing a bloc-free, ecological philosophy with touches of Gandhi's creative nonviolence, Schumacher's economics, and Ivan Illich's critique of industrialization.

The Green agenda has a core of non-negotiable demands, involving a delicate balance between electoral work and direct action. Germany's Easter Week demonstrations, for instance, saw Green leaders just elected to the *Bundestag* joining in civil disobedience to protest the deployment of Euromissiles.

The experiences of both the Greens and the Burlington radicals underline the need to establish basic principles as early as possible, rather than deferring this work to some post-victory hiatus. Sanders' victories, inspiring as they are, do not assure that anything more than a modest reform program will develop. To maintain power, in fact, the Sanderistas have decided to downplay the long-term need for economic transformation. Sanders' original slogan, "Burlington Is Not For Sale," was facile, but says little about the type of growth or society to which the administration is committed. Of course, since no progressive agenda yet exists beyond his own short-term initiatives, Sanders cannot be faulted for failing to live up to it.

Groundrules for electoral coalitions are also best stated prior to major candidacies, and reviewed on some formal basis between campaigns. The Greens entered the national legislature four years after starting the party, itself an outgrowth of the country's ecology movement. Mindful of the risks of taking power within capitalist structures, they placed limits on leaders and set relatively clear priorities.

The "instrumental" approach used in Burlington, while producing highly effective campaigns, has engendered intermittent confusion, centralized leadership, and a hypersensitivity to internal criticism. To his credit, Sanders expresses well the relationship between the world crisis and local troubles, while pointing to the limits of what one city can do to deal with problems such as unemployment. He decries the arms race, and urges working people to fight the monopolization of economic and political power. But these general sentiments—plus a few tax reforms—do not add up to a program, or assure that Burlington will not become simply a stepping stone for Sanders' political career. In short, activism is easier to promote than theoretical clarity. Without consistent attention to principles and process, electoral victory can produce only liberal reforms and lead to the cooptation of the officials, their lieutenants, or their successors.

#### Long v. Short Haul

**T**he interminable theoretical debate characteristic of the Greens has yet to yield a practical economic program for today. They are sometimes unmindful of the potential short-term consequences of a no-growth stance. The revolution in human relationships their vision will require is even harder to imagine in Germany—so polarized between the countercultural young and consumerist older generation—than it is in the US. The almost religious quality of their radicalism, its ability to block out harsh contemporary realities, prevents many German workers from taking them seriously. Yet their collectivist ethic and healthy skepticism about the ugliness of power orientation, while not preventing them from effective participation in demonstrations and elections, helps to keep their ideology front and center.

In contrast, Vermont progressives have focused almost completely in recent years on winning votes. They will become increasingly vulnerable to the law of diminishing election returns unless effectiveness "in the system" is buttressed by pressure from "outside." Such pressure is a hedge against complacency; it acknowledges that merely administering the existing system "progressively" could lead to a dead end. Being more "efficient" than the establishment could actually fortify capitalism.



At this time, democratizing the "system" is a more than worthy goal. Bringing together scattered movements and spurring a fundamental reconsideration of all aspects of government can help people overcome despair and regain a sense of control over the destiny of our communities—and ultimately, the survival of the planet.

However, this participatory revolt from below is a means rather than an end. If election victories do no more than produce a generation of progressive or even socialist leadership, they will eventually re-create the apathy they temporarily erase. The end—barely glimpsed in Burlington and vaguely expressed in the Green movement—is the cultivation of an ecological, self-regulating society.

When first elected, Bernie Sanders talked of wanting to help seed a rebirth of the human spirit. That is indeed what is needed—a respiration of the natural world through the conscious evolution of an ethical, caring community based on direct democracy, justice and mutual concern. No political party—however effective—no victory at the polls, no set of management techniques can create that. What all of them, along with a mobilized citizenry, can do is provide the opening for a radical self-consciousness to emerge. And through the process of personal liberation a new society can begin to bloom.  $\Omega$

*Greg Guma has been a political activist in Vermont since the 1960s, working in the antinuclear movement, Burlington's progressive coalition, and on civil liberties issues. He co-chairs the Vermont Council for Democracy.*

## GROUND ZERO

## NUCLEAR DEBT

Virginia Witt

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Who should foot the bill when uncompleted nuclear power plants are cancelled?

The question grows ever more important as the nuclear power industry comes up against rising public opposition and rapidly escalating construction costs. Some 100 plants have been cancelled since 1972, with 18 washed out just last year. Seven of those 18 were already under construction.

Complex economic, legal and ultimately political issues are involved for regulators and government agencies trying to cope with the problem. Cancellation costs can run into tens of millions of dollars, even before construction begins. Once it has started, the bill can mount to hundreds of millions. And six cancellations to date -- with more likely -- have had multi-billion dollar price tags.

Three basic legal questions must be answered by regulators in deciding how to apportion cancellation costs between a utility's owners and its rate-paying customers:

-- Were the decisions to build the plant, and then to cancel it, both "prudent?"

-- Can the equipment be judged "used and useful" to ratepayers?

-- What degree of "responsibility and risk" for management is borne by company shareholders?

Results of regulatory decisions so far have been mixed. The utilities have been largely successful in demonstrating that they acted prudently in building plants. Their evidence includes reams of official government

statements over the years urging prompt action to expand nuclear energy facilities. Dan Guttman, a Washington, DC-based attorney whose clients include public utilities, remarks that "the utility defense is that everyone thought that way at the time."

Companies have had less success proving that the timing of cancellations was prudent. In Connecticut, Massachusetts and Texas, regulatory agencies have limited the amounts that utilities could claim for cancelled plants, on the grounds that they haven't acted soon enough, or had proceeded with unsound plans against the advice of the regulatory agency involved.

In Virginia and West Virginia, commissions reduced the burden on ratepayers because cancelled plants offered "no hope or promise that they will ever be used or useful." And several states -- New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Oregon, California and Massachusetts -- have policies against including "construction work in progress" in setting utility rates, a provision which may apply to cancellation costs as well.

The question of shareholders' responsibility and risk is by far the most bitterly contested in cancellation cases. It puts to the test the classic corporate theory that investors earn their profits by taking the risks.

A 1980 Arizona decision found regulators suggesting that "the planning and construction of new units is a management function under the control of stockholders. If units are planned and

cancelled, this commission feels that the stockholders should therefore bear any cost related to such cancellations." A similar position was taken the same year by an Iowa commission.

Ratepayers were also victorious in recent Ohio challenges to Public Utility Commission decisions allowing a company to recover \$56.4 million lost through two nuclear plant cancellations. According to Gretchen Hummel, of the state's Consumers' Counsel Office, which represented ratepayers, "No ratepayers are paying for cancelled plants in Ohio today. I think we're unique in that way." A similar case is being pressed in Oklahoma on behalf of ratepayers. Yet even where utilities have been compelled to carry a major portion of cancellation costs, the impact has often been cushioned for them by tax write-offs and other financial maneuvers.

Generally speaking, a majority of states have decided to permit utilities to recover cancellation losses indirectly from ratepayers, usually by allowing amortized portions of uncompleted plants to be included in company expenses. Only a few, including Oregon, Ohio and Arizona, have refused to let utilities collect substantial amounts of cancellation costs from ratepayers.

According to Greg Palast, a utility industry analyst, companies have not been seriously hurt by cancellations where costs were limited to the millions. But that, he says, "doesn't tell us a lot about what would happen with a \$3 billion-plus cancellation."

Experience to date with such enormous cancellation losses is limited. The state of Washington's Public Power Supply System (WPPSS) has been reported close to default on \$2.5 billion in municipal bonds sold to finance nuclear facilities. It has cancelled two plants that were under construction.

Two nearly completed plants mentioned as candidates for cancellation are the Shoreham facility on Long Island, NY (\$3.2 billion spent to date), and the Zimmer plant in Moscow, Ohio (\$1.5 billion spent).

The Long Island Lighting Company (LILCO) contends that ratepayers should pay for the Shoreham loss, arguing that closing the plant will cost as much as \$20 billion over the next 25 years, \$10 billion more than it would have to keep it open. Suffolk County Executive Peter Cohalan counters that "LILCO should pay for its own mistakes."

Richard Rosen, an analyst with the Energy Systems Research Group, a consulting firm, says that "bankruptcy is a realistic prospect" in the Zimmer case because of Ohio's sanctions against charging ratepayers for cancellation costs.

"Big-ticket" cancellations could make it hard to raise capital for any future utility investments. Some angry ratepayers might cheer that prospect. Nevertheless, there is a strong likelihood that they will also wind up paying for much of the cost. "The bigger the mistake, the more difficult it is to achieve a simple division of responsibility," said attorney Dan Guttman.

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cpf-Work back



EFFECTS OF A SINGLE 20,000 KILOTON (20 MEGATON) BLAST CENTERED 1,000 METERS ABOVE THE TRANS-AMERICA PYRAMID. (A SINGLE MEGATON IS THE EQUIVALENT OF 20,000 KILOTONS TNT POWER). THE BLAST WOULD BE THE EQUIVALENT OF 1,333 "SMALL" HIROSHIMA BOMBS DETONATED IN ONE DAY.

The assault on the city of San Francisco would be a week-day in the life of the city. The city would be instantly compressed into a ball of fire and fragments of the city would be scattered in all directions. The rolling mass of elemental fire grows to a size that would fill the city in a split second, and where it moves out at the speed of sound. At the rim of the crater that was San Francisco, the debris-laden lateral atom bomb hits Sausalito at 500 miles per hour, hits San Rafael at 200, San Rafael at 100, and compressing the air ahead of it until it is a solid mass near Santa Rosa. The flow then reverses and the winds return to the center to join the rising column (the path of least resistance) of vaporized debris that develops into a mushroom cloud rising into the upper atmosphere, soon to encircle the northern half of the earth.

### The Effect On Humans

The effect on humans is instantaneous. The people do not notice their existence. The next best, the people fear, and the next, the people hate. When the best leader's work is done, the people say, "We did it ourselves!" -- LAO TZU

\*Note: It is unlikely that just one nuclear warhead will strike the high risk area of San Francisco. The likelihood is that several smaller and ultimately more destructive forces will hit. The 20 megaton figure is used to describe the destructive force.

tower of the Golden Gate Bridge is destroyed, the bridge bed and cables along with charred automobiles, trucks and buses, and human and animal bodies are buried in the Bay or scattered on the hillsides of the Marin Headlands.

All vehicles and tunnels are blown out the north end by the shotgun blast.

**Sausalito** All vehicles and tunnels are blown out the north end by the shotgun blast.

The relay this information without any fear that humanity will take warning and reform signed by radio archy. -- DON MARQUIS

ing to the pit. Those few persons who survive the blast, heat, winds, and fire will die of burns within days, or of fallout radiation exposure within days.

There will be no firefighters to put out the fires, and no doctors, nurses, or priests to minister to the people in their final agony.

The southern slope of the city will be nearly as devastated. Trees, deer, and raccoons will be killed. People in the Bay will not survive. A blast wave of salt water will surge 200 feet ashore.

### Tiburon, Strawberry Valley, Marin

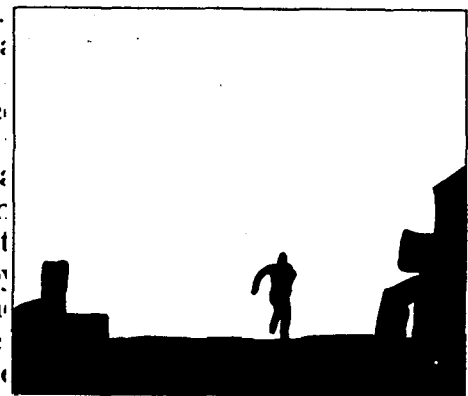
The basin that holds the city of Tiburon, Strawberry Valley, Tam Valley, and the city of Tiburon, will be killed. The wind, and fire. Near the city itself will either die of injuries in the following two days, or die during the next two weeks of diarrhea,

vomiting, and internal bleeding caused by early fallout radiation. And they will die alone, for there will not be enough rescue workers, working for brief exposure periods in protective suits, to get to them.

### Marin General, Kaiser, Ross, Novato Community Hospital

Marin General Hospital and Kaiser Hospital probably will stand, but most of the patients and staff will be injured by the implosion of all of the windows. All will be deafened. Fuel for auxiliary generators, food, and medical supplies will be exhausted within 48 hours. Stored water will not last one day. Contaminated with radiation, storage tanks. Any tank never be refilled because of the purification system. Ross Hospital is 12 miles from the blast.

Novato Community Hospital is 18 miles, sheltered by hills. But from the blast, the hospital would be damaged, having no power after 12 hours, no telephones, no medical supplies after 12 hours. At this time 5,000 new cases of radiation sickness would start to come in. The building could not hold more than 100 patients. Utilizing the local school, no more than 200 bed patients could be served with primitive medical care.



### Casualties

Altogether, 180,000 Marin County residents would die of injuries directly inflicted by a single 20-megaton nuclear device detonated over San Francisco on a sunny afternoon. If there were heavy fog or cloud cover at the moment of detonation, the immediate toll due to heat and fire would be less, but most of those so spared would die of gamma radiation casualties.

Reason to suppose that the area with a single atomic bomb of the 20,000 San Francisco and one at all life in urban Marin County weapons with multiple city in north-central California area. One bomb making a marine at Mare Island would release a cloud of radiation for the lower Sacramento Valley, the north of northern Nevada, and for 20 years.

The preceding description refers to a standard "clean" bomb. A "salted" weapon would produce much greater gamma radiation, multiplying the number of dead and injured radiation victims by 10.

If any one of the warheads is directed to explode high in the air, the destruction of buildings, and human beings is increased. If both the MX and the Soviet MX are simultaneously fired at the same targets, the civilian death toll would be almost as great as if one or the other were fired alone.

On Friday, Henry E. Catto Jr., assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, said Reagan is "holding the MX, the better deterrent is going to be." "The Soviets have 600 MX-type missiles already in place," Catto said, "and we want to get them out as quickly as possible."

Currently being Management This is an effort to relocate possible risk areas clear attack on

this country. The primary rationale for such massive relocation is that it could result in the survival of 80 per-





## The cost of auto insurance

Ron Landsman is counsel to the National Insurance Consumer Organization. He recently testified before the city council on auto insurance policies in the city. Here are excerpts from his comments:

The drive for insurance reform has been sparked over the years by the twin problems of high rates and unavailability: insurance costs too much and too many people cannot get insurance at standard rates.

It is critical that the council consider not only the availability of insurance, but the price at which it is available. If the price is too high, a law that makes insurance generally available will be unsatisfactory. Unless the council requires the superintendent of insurance to use his or her powers to effectively regulate rates, there is ample basis for believing that the price will remain too high.

The National Insurance Consumer Organization believes the District has two principal problems relating to automobile insurance—the insurance costs too much and too many good drivers cannot get the insurance they need at standard rates.

The most glaring evidence that insurance costs too much is the profit levels on auto insurance sold in the District. They are far above the national average. Five leading companies writing auto insurance in the District for the years 1978–1981 averaged an after-tax return on shareholders or policyholders equity of 23 percent—a third again higher than the 17 percent which the property-casualty industry earned as a whole countrywide. GEICO led the pack with an average annual after tax return of 28 percent. While the industry profit level appears to have dropped overall in 1982, we have seen no basis for believing the District improved its relative position.

Above and beyond generally unchecked profit levels, many drivers—good drivers, with clean records—are forced to buy the highest-priced, low quality “substandard” insurance. That is why substandard companies are dominant in the District as in no other state, a dubious distinction indeed. That in part is also why the District has so many uninsured drivers. The coverage is minimal and the cost is astronomical, and many people make the rational choice not to buy it.

The consumer protection provisions adopted by the council as part of the no-fault law last year, which would be retained by Councilmember John Ray’s bill, and the amendment offered by Chairman David Clarke and Councilmember John Ray, together will go far toward checking excessive profits and assuring the availability of insurance at reasonable prices. They combine rigorous rate regulation with protection for good drivers from unfair and capricious insurance company practices.

The National Insurance Consumer Organization would urge that a number of additional steps be taken to assure achievement of the related goals of fairly priced insurance that is broadly available.

### Insurance Rate Regulation

Excessive profits characterize the District’s auto insurance rates. Our study, based on a review of annual statements of the leading companies, shows that auto insurance rates in the District for leading companies have yielded profits in excess of the returns which have sustained the industry as a whole countrywide. Liability insurance has been a particularly good money maker for the insurers. For the period reviewed, none of the companies studied suffered an after-tax loss on D.C. operations (although Allstate and State Farm had a pre-tax loss in one year), while pre-tax profit levels on the liability line in excess of 40 percent were common, and Allstate achieved a 99.7 percent profit on its D.C. liability coverage in 1978. Such profit levels are little short of staggering.

As a practical matter, the District has for many years relied almost exclusively on market forces to keep insurance rates down. Plainly this has not worked. Nor should the failure of competition to control rates here be surprising, for the auto insurance market in the District has many of the characteristics of markets condemned by the antitrust laws. Price-fixing, the most fundamental violation of the federal antitrust laws, is permitted here and is actively engaged in by insurance companies. The market is highly “concentrated,” that is, there are relatively few sellers with relatively high market shares. This is particularly true of the substandard market, where the two major insurers—Dairyland and Criterion—control 90 percent of the business.

The District’s reliance on competition is not what Congress or the Council contemplated in enacting the present rate regulatory statutes. To the contrary, the superintendent was given substantial powers under a broad



## CITY TALK

mandate to control and regulate casualty insurance rates. But it has not worked as intended. Rates have been approved, when there was any attempt to review them at all, without regard to whether the company seeking the rate increase was earning 5 or 50 percent return on equity. The problem has in substantial part been one of lack of administrative will—the law is there to be used, although it could be sharper and more compelling—and inadequate resources, again, a failing which must ultimately be laid at those experts charged with protecting the public and whose first duty ought to be to explain what it is they need to do the job right.

The need for a vigilant insurance superintendent is particularly great in periods such as the country has been undergoing, of rapid inflation. Insurance rates have tendencies that are counter-cyclical to inflation. Casualty insurance companies earn much if not most of their net income from investing premiums pending the payment of claims and expenses, so that when inflation pushes interest rates up, the real cost of insurance remains stable or can even go down. Similarly, lower accident rates, which can be the product of economic recession or high gasoline prices, can also reduce the real cost of in-

surance. Thus, rates set in one year can, in the proper circumstances, be increasingly profitable in later years even in the face of significant inflation. State Farm, for example, using rates set in 1976 continued to enjoy profits in excess of 40 percent on its property damage lines as late as 1980, notwithstanding double-digit inflation.

### Availability of Insurance

The availability problem in the District is not just the one commonly referred to—that of uninsured drivers—but of good drivers unable to get standard insurance. District residents have been forced to buy a disproportionate amount of auto insurance commonly referred to as “substandard” or “high-risk.” It is not truly high risk—many of the people forced by insurance companies to buy it are good drivers, with “clean” or very good records. But the product—the insurance policy—is substandard. It gives the buyer less of what he or she wants, that is, insurance coverage, at far higher prices.

The District’s availability problems are reflected in the high proportion of drivers insured with substandard companies. The District is unique in that the second and sixth largest writers of auto liability insurance in the jurisdiction as of 1980 are substandard companies, and roughly one premium dollar in five now goes to substandard insurers. A review of the most recent data shows that no other state appears to be so reliant on substandard insurance.

When NICO surveyed insurance companies in the District in 1982, it found that all of the major standard insurance companies would refuse to sell their product to anyone who owned a car but drove without insurance at the time they applied. A few of the companies refused to insure drivers who had not had insurance because they did not own a car! Such practices are plainly discriminatory. Given the industry’s desire to refuse applicants, it is not enough to tell insurers they cannot refuse to insure the previously uninsured, as the no-fault law does. The companies will merely find new bases for unfairly denying insurance. They will, as one official wrote, continue to try to beat the averages by the use of secret unreviewed selection standards.

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### The Michigan Model

The solution we propose—good driver protection—cuts through the Gordian knot of underwriting practices and tells insurance companies to insure every driver with a good record at standard rates. It permits consumers to make informed choices about the purchase of insurance, free from the threat of arbitrary denials or non-renewals, which have long plagued the business. Good driver protection is clear, fair, simple, and most important, it has been tried and works. The system we propose is modeled on the system introduced in Michigan in 1981.

First, and most important, the Michigan experience shows that where people can get insurance at standard rates, they engage in price-shopping, one of the best ways to make sure that they get the best buy possible. The Michigan insurance bureau has confirmed consumer price-shopping, and the trade press similarly reports, not always happily, that consumers shop in Michigan as in few other places.

Second, Michigan's reliance on substandard insurance companies has been sharply reduced. The Michigan insurance bureau reports that the premium levels of the major substandard companies are down. For example, the business of Dairyland, there as here the leading substandard insurer, in "written premiums" (new sales) for all personal auto lines, grew in the 1970s and then dropped with the start of good driver protection in 1981.

Third, the Michigan experience indicated that taking away insurance companies' freedom to selectively "underwrite" need not cause skyrocketing rates. In Michigan, auto insurers are permitted to raise rates at will. Nonetheless, despite the new law, rate increases have not been as severe as might be feared. In the two and one-half years since the advent of good driver protection, the leading insurers have raised rates at a composite rate of six to seven percent annually. This was far less than the increase in claims or inflation, according to data from the Michigan insurance bureau through 1981. Even if higher than necessary, such increases are hardly a sign of an insurance system in peril.

#### Conclusion

An effective system that assures insurance for good drivers at standard rates, and for all drivers at reasonable rates, would include "good driver protection" and an effective rate regulation system. Some of these provisions are now in the no-fault law; another has been proposed by Chairman Clarke and Councilman John Ray as an amendment to the no-fault law. We urge a number of other provisions which will give the District an effective and thorough approach to these long-standing insurance problems.

First, *good driver protection*. Good driver protection would entitle all good drivers meeting the statutory standard to obtain insurance from the company of their choice at standard rates. The National Association of Insurance Commissioners has recommended that states develop new means for getting market price information to consumers. Computers now make possible the provisions of rate information tailored to individual needs. With relatively small investment, the District should be able to produce a system by which consumers can get quick price information on policies to meet their needs at the lowest cost. The Council should authorize the superintendent to develop such a system.

In addition, we recommend that the Council affirmatively require agents and companies to tell consumers the least expensive insurance they offer.

Second, *a competitive "residual market mechanism."* Drivers who do not meet the definition of "good driver" still need protection from exorbitant rates on the residual market. The residual market rate should be set by a formula based on rates in the voluntary market.

Third, *prior approval*. Prior approval rate regulation was put into effect by the no-fault law. Under it, insurers cannot increase their rates without an order of the superintendent based on a review of a rate filing. We support Councilman Ray's proposal to further tighten the procedure by requiring a reasoned decision in each case.

Fourth, *People's Counsel*. Representation of the public by the Office of People's Counsel requires solid funding authority. The no-fault law authorized People's Counsel participation but adequate funding, subject to appropriate oversight, must be assured.

Fifth, the ratemaking standard must be clarified so that rate reviews consider all elements of profit. Review should not be limited to underwriting profit, but should reflect all investment income and determine return on equity, as well.

Sixth, there should be provision for periodic review of rates, so that profit creep, or gallop in some cases—the process that occurs when investment income increases faster than losses—can be spotted.

## DC snakes

Councilmember Nadine Winter recently made the following statement about a bill she was introducing:

Most of you will probably agree with me in the statement that our charge is to do all within our power to foster and improve the general well being of the citizens of Washington, D.C. That general well being can be divided into three compartments: health, education and general well being. Today I am introducing a bill that addresses the needs of our citizens in the areas of health and general well being. As you know we must often balance the right to individual liberty against the general well being of the society as a whole. This bill takes into account the need to balance these aspects of living in a complex society.

The specific purpose of this bill is to strengthen the penalty process and control peregrinations by snakes. In short, people have the right to own snakes, but the general public can not afford the expense in medical bills, both mental and physical, that would be brought on if snakes were allowed to wander as freely as cats and dogs do.

The control over snakes wandering around needs to be strengthened, because snakes are animals that not only can hurt people, but they are one of the few animals that can cause people to hurt themselves. Large numbers of people go into shock just at the sight of a snake.

While it is true that snakes may be unjustly maligned

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and our general aversion to snakes may be embedded in the Judeo-Christian ethic of this country, the fact remains that large numbers of people are terrorized by the presence of snakes. In fact, snakes may be the only animal that creates terror just by its presence. For example, there is the neighbor who lets his snake crawl around on the front porch or in his front yard. This may appear to be a rather harmless act, and if we were talking about any other animal other than a snake it would be. Now enter the mail carrier, who is trained to deal with ferocious dogs and most other impediments to mail delivery. This otherwise, calm, responsible person is almost struck down by a car while running away from the snake.

Think of the potential cost to society here; we may have lost a bread winner in a family that may have to come to the public for assistance. We may have lost a worker that will have to be replaced at the expense of retraining. The driver may be traumatized for life as a result of hitting someone with his automobile.

The fact that the mail carrier's fear of snakes may not be logical has to be addressed by a psychologist. The fact that the fear exists can be addressed by the legislature by minimizing potential contact with the terror-creating object. It is for that reason that the bill is introduced.

The bill balances the rights of people who own snakes with the welfare of the society as a whole. The general public of Washington, D.C. has the right to be relatively free from terror, no matter what the source.

The bill does not prohibit the ownership of snakes; it merely requires the owner to keep them inside and post notice of their existence.

Ownership of snakes is becoming more popular as evidenced by advertisements in the Washington Post. Thus it is inevitable that this issue will have to be addressed if not now, later, after the loss of life or limb.

## PENNIES FROM HEAVEN

>>> The Post reported on June 4 that Hizoner received \$28,000 after he had already won his primary election, including \$10,000 from Delaware North Companies, a food service conglomerate and its subsidiaries, one of which is Sportservice Corp, which was given the convention center contract last September.

This is enough to leave a bad taste in your mouth. But wait. On June 6 the Washington Post reported that "Show promoters generally heaped praise on Washington's entry into the convention center market \*\*\* but event organizers were much less enthusiastic about the center's food service, which they called 'lousy,' 'rotten' and 'awful.'" One exhibitor reported that "I paid \$6 for two hot dogs and two Cokes and I couldn't even eat them. They were atrocious."

>>> The city agreed to reduce the cash requirements for the Gallery Place development as well as to permit substantial changes in the proposed design for the project. Beneficiaries include project leaders William Fitzgerald (see elsewhere this column) and developer Melvin Lenkin.

>>> Several buddies of the mayor are involved in the bidding battle over the bus shelter contracts, including banker William Fitzgerald (cf. Barry home mortgage, the lottery fracas and the Dupont Circle underground); Arthur McZier (cf. lottery contract and downtown goodies); David Wilnot, general counsel to the convention center; and Carroll Harvey, former head of the department of general services.

## CITY DESK Cont'd

schedules seriously grows. Not only should bus schedules be readily available in neighborhoods served by specific routes (including distribution to churches, Seven-Elevens and libraries) but bus stop signs should include schedule information. If Metro won't spend the money, the DC Department of Transportation should. The way things are going on the Metro information front, the next thing we know Metro will have an unlisted telephone number.

I've noticed a sort of diaspora of intelligent folk from the District Building. Some have gotten out of government entirely, some just establishing some distance. Don't know what it means, but as dear little Diana McCellan says, "Watch that space."

The DC Register, the weekly compendium of official doings, is a curiously frustrating document. Intended to provide information, it often succeeds in obscuring more than it reveals. For one thing, new laws are no longer even summarized in the Register, bills introduced are identified in only a perfunctory and uninformative manner, and proposed changes in regulations are printed but with no clue as to how the language has been changed. Meanwhile, whole pages are devoted to announcing a single hearing, the



endless procession of honorary resolutions are printed verbatim, decisions of personnel review boards are listed in full and other oddments of official business fill pages that might otherwise provide some useful information. The Register should be a far more useful source than it is, and a little

attention to this matter by the city council could help to make it so.

US District Judge William Bryant, who has refused to lose interest in the horrendous conditions at DC Jail, has scheduled a hearing on August 9th to determine whether

Mayor Barry and corrections officials should be held in contempt for their failure to follow his instructions on dealing with overcrowding at the jail. There are now 2500 inmates in a prison designed to house 1400. Bryant says the situation is "insidious" and could "lead to catastrophe."

## AROUND THE TOWN

There will be an area planning meeting of women representing church, sorority, labor, fraternal and civic groups on the 20th Anniversary March on Washington, Sunday July 17th, 3 pm, at 214 P St. NW.

The Dupont Circle Neighborhood Commission has made grants to the Ward 2 Mini Commission on the Aging, the L'Enfant Trust, Ross School, the Shaw/Dupont Community Center Project, the Dupont Circle Conservancy, the Gay Community Center, the Washington Peace Center and the Foundry Methodist Housing Cooperative. About \$2000 was given out.

The Board Room Restaurant and Dupont Circle activists have reached an agreement under which "all waiters and waitresses will be dressed in uniforms similar to those used in other fine restaurants or hotels; there will be no go-go women; no see-through costumes or nudity, and no hostess service available to patrons."

Hunter Wolkoff, Dupont Circle resident and victim of a drunk driving accident, is starting a DC chapter of Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Info: 328-9050.

The Dupont Circle Neighborhood Commission voted 5-4 to support the Brookings Institute planned unit development that came before the Zoning Commission last month.

A self-help parent support group known as Toughlove is now offering programs in the Washington area. Meetings are every Monday from 730 pm to 930 pm at the Jellef Center, 3265 S NW. Free.

UDC's department of urban studies, working with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, has produced a series of papers on the housing history of the city. These papers, which would be valuable to anyone involved in current housing battles, can be obtained from the Department of Urban Studies, UDC, Room 5-02-6, DC 20008.

The Capitol Hill Montessori School

is seeking to lease space at the Lenox School. The move has the backing of school board member John Warren and the local neighborhood commission.

The Cleveland-Woodley Parks Neighborhood Commission (3C) is moving forward with plans for a Category II Cleveland Park Historic District. Materials are being gathered and possible boundary lines being considered. Any information that could be of use to the project can be given to Peggy Robbin at 686-9132.

The Rape Crisis Center and the DC Self-Defense Karate Association are sponsoring a free self-defense

clinic this summer at the church of the Pilgrims, 2201 P NW. The clinic is being held every Tuesday and Thursday in July from 8 to 930 pm. Info: 232-0202 or 333-7273.

The Department of Transportation has expressed a willingness to replace old streetlights with brighter, more efficient fixtures. The new fixtures are two and a half times brighter, globular instead of tear-drop shaped and have eight foot instead of three foot arms. DOT is already changing lights in ANC 3F and ANC 3C is sounding out the neighborhood on the issue. Those living in the commission area, which runs from Cleveland to Woodley Park, can call the commission at 232-2232 to express a view.

The Edmund Burke School is applying to the BZA for permission to construct an addition.

Ruth Dixon has started a monthly newsletter covering the city council, containing summaries of legislative proposals, hearings and acts, as well as initial steps taken to implement new laws. For a subscription send \$15 to the District Council Journal, PO Box 39151, DC 20016. Info: 364-8696.

The National Aquarium gives a shark feeding show every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday at 2 pm at the Commerce Department, 14th & Constitution NW. Each shark is fed one and a half pounds of fish and squid. Says aquarium curator Brian Montague, "The visitors enjoy watching the sharks as they circle rapidly, darting and tearing at their food."

Richard Ward has written a book about Southwest Washington called "South and West of the Capitol Dome." Copies are available for \$5.95 from Richard F. Ward, PO Box 8275, DC 20024.

Mary Mitchell has authored a photographic essay, "Glimpses of Georgetown: Past and Present," which is available through the Columbia Historical Society for \$12.50. Says CHS executive director Perry Fisher, "What is remarkable is how subtly vast amounts of research are condensed and conveyed in photographic captions."



### Roses & Thorns

ROSES TO THE DC SCHOOL SYSTEM producing significant gains in school test scores, including the first time in recent years that elementary students scored above national norms.

THORNS TO THE DC POLICE DEPT. for reportedly taking the lid off of entrapment in its repeat offenders program, thus turning a good idea into a questionable one.

ROSES TO NEIGHBORS INC which celebrates its 25th anniversary this year.

THORNS TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION for limiting cab sharing to situations in which the initial passenger doesn't object.

# REPORT CARD

Favored repair and deduct legislation (+)  
Supported repeal of no-fault insurance (-)  
Proposed substantially increased traffic fines (-)

Introduced bill to permit parking for businesses in areas under the residential parking program (+)

Introduced legislation to freeze exemptions on homes of low income elderly (+)

Introduced bill to aid currently unemployed meeting home mortgage obligations (+)

Introduced bill to increase the amount of the homestead exemption. (+)

Opposed Public Service Commission ruling limiting shared-riding in taxicabs (+)

Supported Sterling Tucker as new manager of Metro (-)

Permitted the mismanagement of the city's housing preservation program (-)

Introduced legislation substantially increasing the usury ceiling in DC (-)

Introduced legislation that would making "loitering" illegal in designated zones used for narcotics traffic(-)

Introduced bill that would require that certain of the city's contracts be set aside for small business (+)

Introduced bill extending the condominium conversion law and provide for life tenancy under certain conditions (+)

Introduced bill prohibiting bars from requiring more than one valid ID for admittances, in an effort to end the practice of "carding." (+)

	BARRY	CLARKE	CRAWFORD	JARVIS	KANE	MASON	MOORE	RAY	ROLARK	SHACKLETON	SMITH	SPAULDING	WILSON	WINTER
Favored repair and deduct legislation (+)	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Supported repeal of no-fault insurance (-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Proposed substantially increased traffic fines (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced bill to permit parking for businesses in areas under the residential parking program (+)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced legislation to freeze exemptions on homes of low income elderly (+)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced bill to aid currently unemployed meeting home mortgage obligations (+)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced bill to increase the amount of the homestead exemption. (+)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Opposed Public Service Commission ruling limiting shared-riding in taxicabs (+)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supported Sterling Tucker as new manager of Metro (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Permitted the mismanagement of the city's housing preservation program (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced legislation substantially increasing the usury ceiling in DC (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced legislation that would making "loitering" illegal in designated zones used for narcotics traffic(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced bill that would require that certain of the city's contracts be set aside for small business (+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduced bill extending the condominium conversion law and provide for life tenancy under certain conditions (+)	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Introduced bill prohibiting bars from requiring more than one valid ID for admittances, in an effort to end the practice of "carding." (+)	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

1983 GRADE

4% 50% 54% 13% 100% 100% 60% 50% 42% 87% 37% 42% 55% 33%

This report card is based on our current information as to positions and actions taken by the mayor and city council on various issues. A + inside a circle indicates a switch from a previous negative position, worth one-half credit. A - inside a circle indicates a switch from a previous positive position, worth nothing. 1983 grades based on all positions taken this year; only pending or recent ones are listed above, however. Additions and corrections should be sent or called to the Gazette, 232-5544

>>> There will be a conference on homelessness in the area on July 19-20 at the Shiloh Family Center, 9th & P NW. For info: 727-0924 or 727-5514

>>> There will be a community hearing on the extension of Metro in Ward One on July 14 at 7 pm at the Washington Urban League, 3501 14th St. NW. The hearing is being sponsored by the Urban League and councilmember Frank Smith.

>>> Because of the city's out of date storm sewage system, untreated water is being dumped into the Anacostia 85 times a year, into the Potomac 60 times a year and into Rock Creek 17 times a year, according to a report prepared for the DC government. The firm doing the study recommended a \$70 million program to improve the system.

>>> The landmarks committee has designated the Warner theatre and Twin Oaks as historic landmarks and recommended the Mayflower hotel for membership on the national landmark registry.

>>> The city's new law requiring use of safety seats and belts for children under six is now in effect. The law requires that children under three ride in a child restraint seat and that children from three to six wear safety belts.

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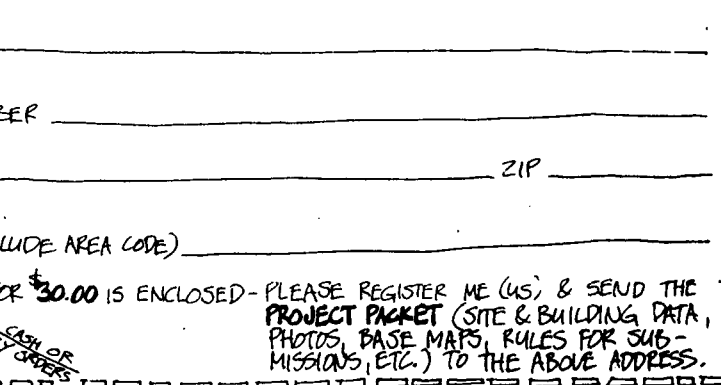
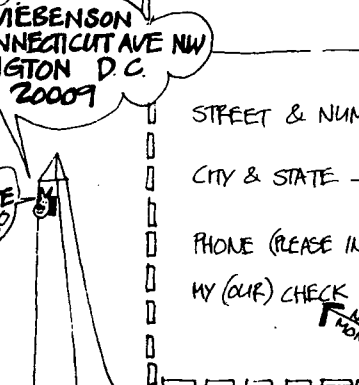
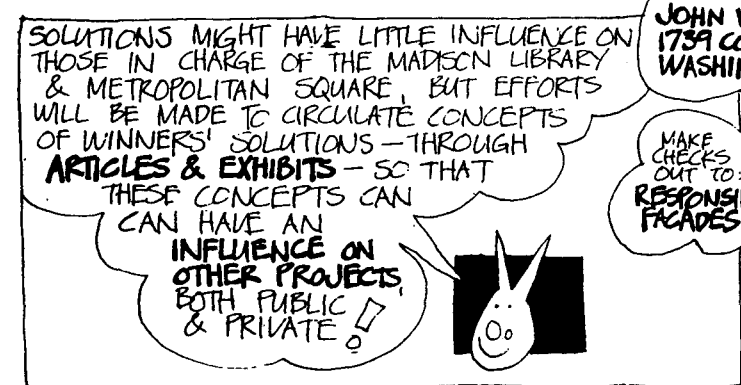
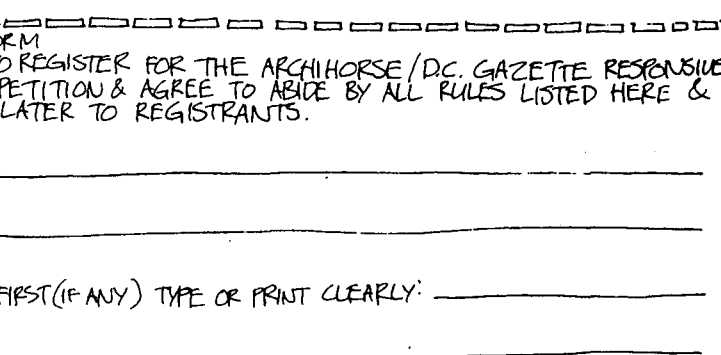
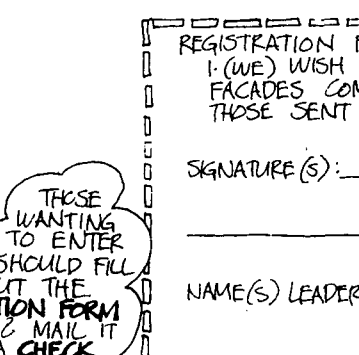
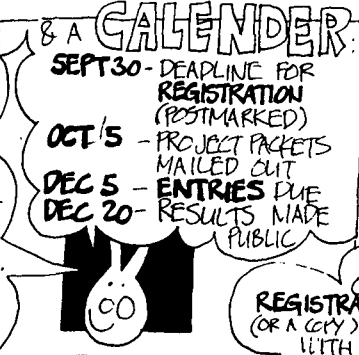
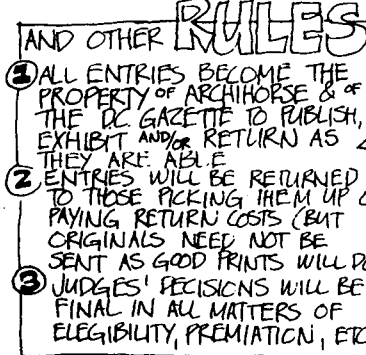
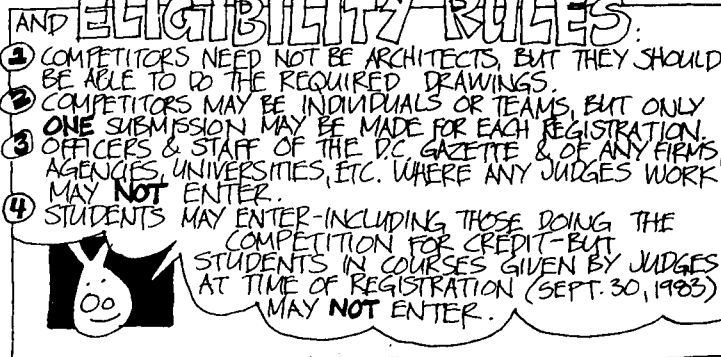
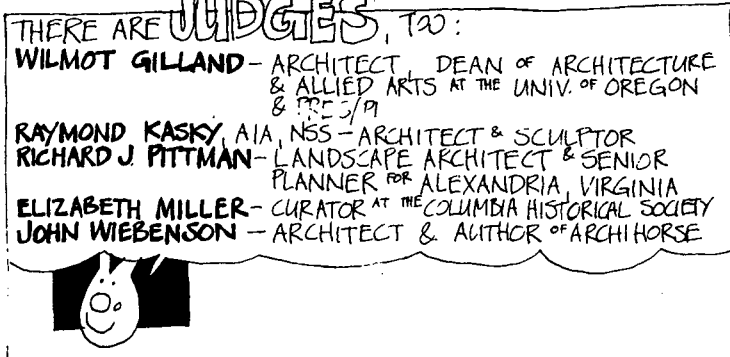
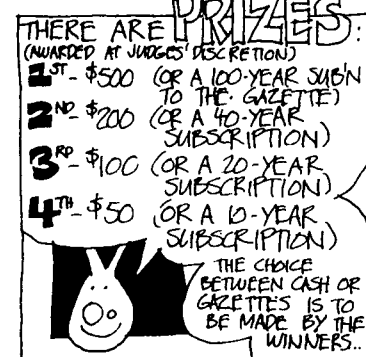
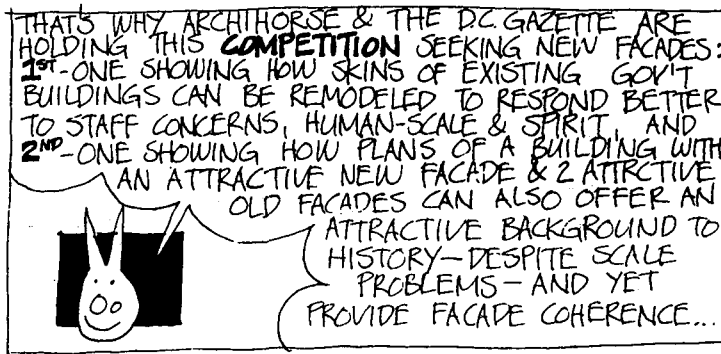
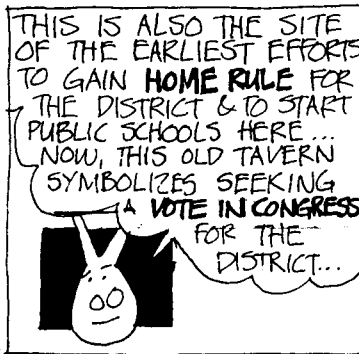
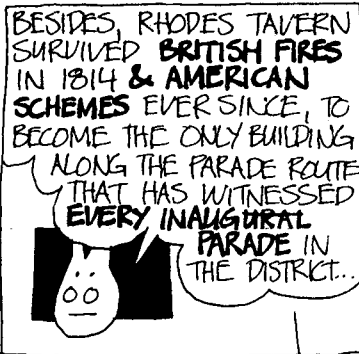
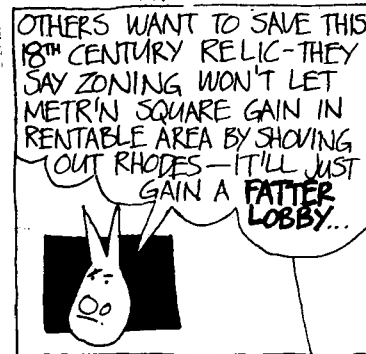
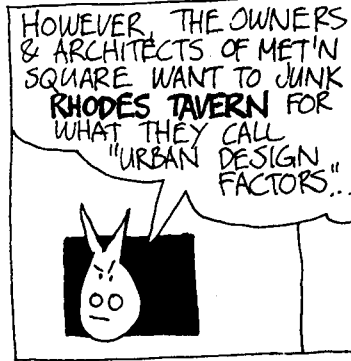
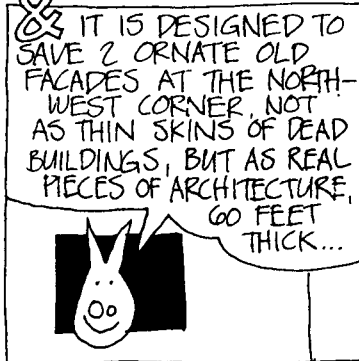
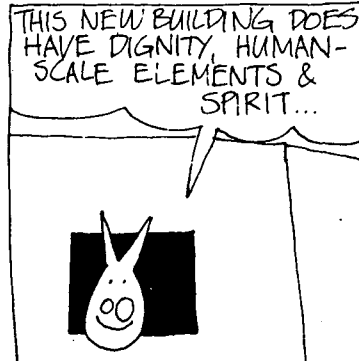
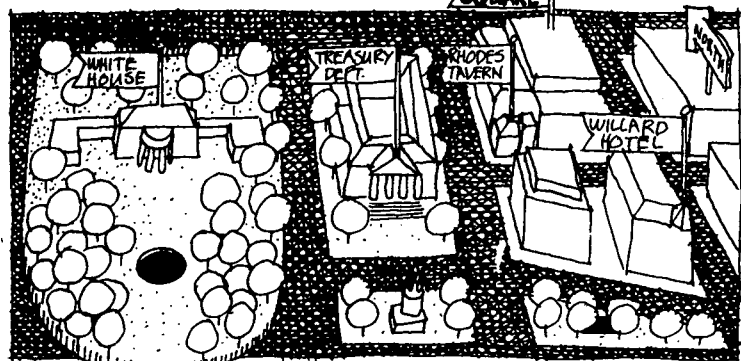
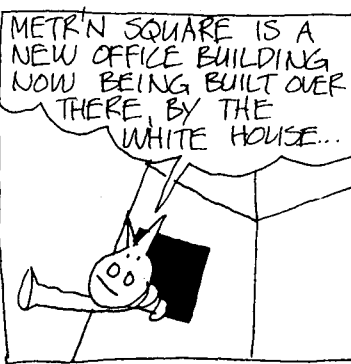
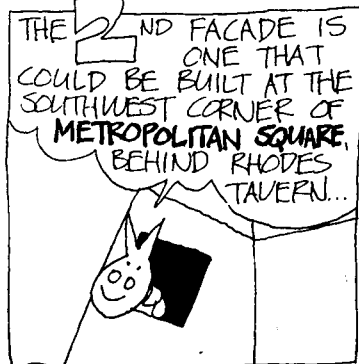
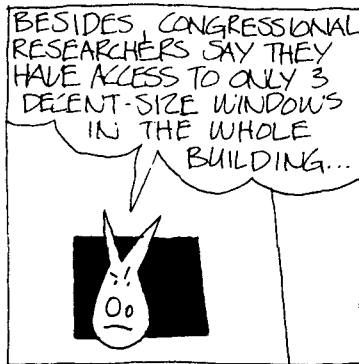
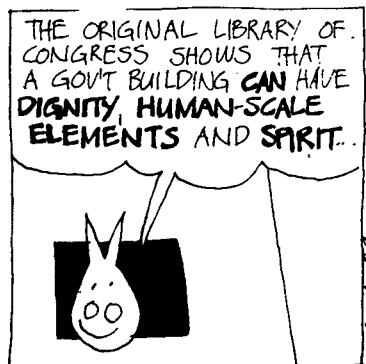
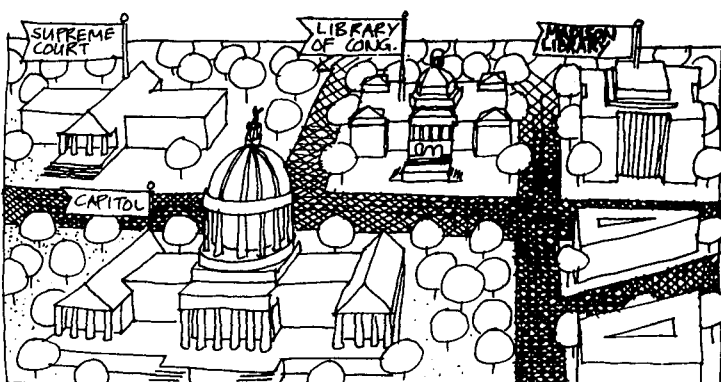
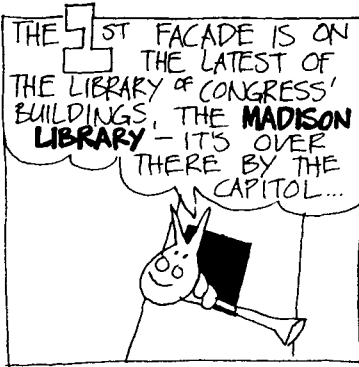
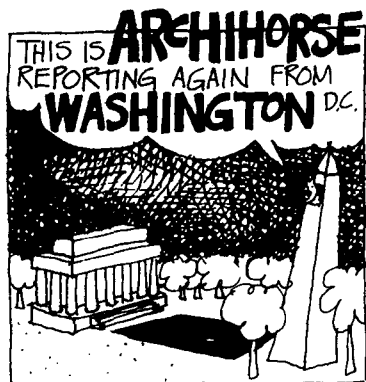
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## DC PEOPLE

Richard Poole, an attorney with the Federal Trade Commission, is a new commissioner in the Cleveland-Woodley Parks Neighborhood Commission (3C).

William Corcoran has been elected to succeed Raymond Kukulski as chair of the Georgetown Neighborhood Commission (2E). Kukulski, who became chair in 1980, stepped down because of increased work obligations but remains a single district member. Corcoran is vice president and chair of the zoning committee of the Citizens Association of Georgetown and an architect by trade.







ALAN PARKER, a member of the Chippewa-Cree Tribe in Rocky Boy's Indian Reservation in Montana and a DC attorney has been named president of the American Indian National Bank here.

Kay McGrath has become a special assistant to the Chief of Police, dealing with various community relations matters.

JOE TOM EASLEY has resigned as president of the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club to become a visiting scholar at Columbia law school.

DEREK WIEBENSON, a student at Mann School and son of Archihorse jockey John Wiebenson, won first prize in the citywide elementary school science fair.

LISA KOTEEN of Woodley Park has been elected treasurer of the Cleveland Park-Woodley Park Neighborhood Commission (3C) to fill out the term of LYN OHMAN who recently resigned.

DENNIS BROWN has been elected president of the Dupont Circle Citizens Association, ousting incumbent JOE GRANO in a hotly contested election.

DONALD FISHMAN, an eighth grader at Deal, won first place in the the public school mathematics contest for elementary math.

WILSON SENIOR EDDIE CLIFT has won two essay contests, one sponsored by the Mayor's Committee on the Handicapped and the other by the Teachers Union.

WILSON SENIORS CATHERINE TEARE AND DAVID RISSER were Presidential Scholar finalists. Wilson, reports school board member Wanda Washburn, had more presidential scholars than any other high school in the country.

## AMAZING FACTS!

Ron Eng, an at-large member of the Consumer Utility Board, sends along an interesting quote from Judge Harold Greene's decision on the AT&T case, which bears on the C&P request for an \$82 million revenue increase and on similar cases around the country. Addressing the question of whether long-distance charges "subsidize" local service, Judge Greene said, "In the first place, it is not at all clear that the subsidy assumed by the FCC has ever existed. In its extended oversight of AT&T, and in investigations extending over many years, the Commission was never able to determine whether, in fact, local rates had been subsidized by long distance rates. \*\*\* The operating companies have been receiving revenues from the Bell System under a division of the revenue process. \*\*\* Whether this allocation was a 'subsidy,' that is, whether the operating companies received more than they earned or deserved, has never been proved."



Oliver Carr said it couldn't be done, but the new Demonet project at Conn. & M shows that at least one developer feels that the old and the new can be blended. In fact, the developer spent a record \$999 a square foot for the property, which will retain the historic Demonet building.

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